P.J. O'ROURKE vs. ROBERT BORK ❧ MICHAEL BARONE ❧ JOSEPH EPSTEIN ❧ JOEL KOTKIN

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

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A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

THE '60s RETURN

My Life as a Radical
David Horowitz

Secret '60s Histories of '90s Celebrities
Fred Barnes

Right-wing '60s Kids

Anti-war Traitors
James Webb

'60s Echoes in the '90s
- in public schools
- in unions
- in politics

Marijuana Comeback

Bill Bennett, '60s Rock Fan

ay until June 24, 1997

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May/June 1997

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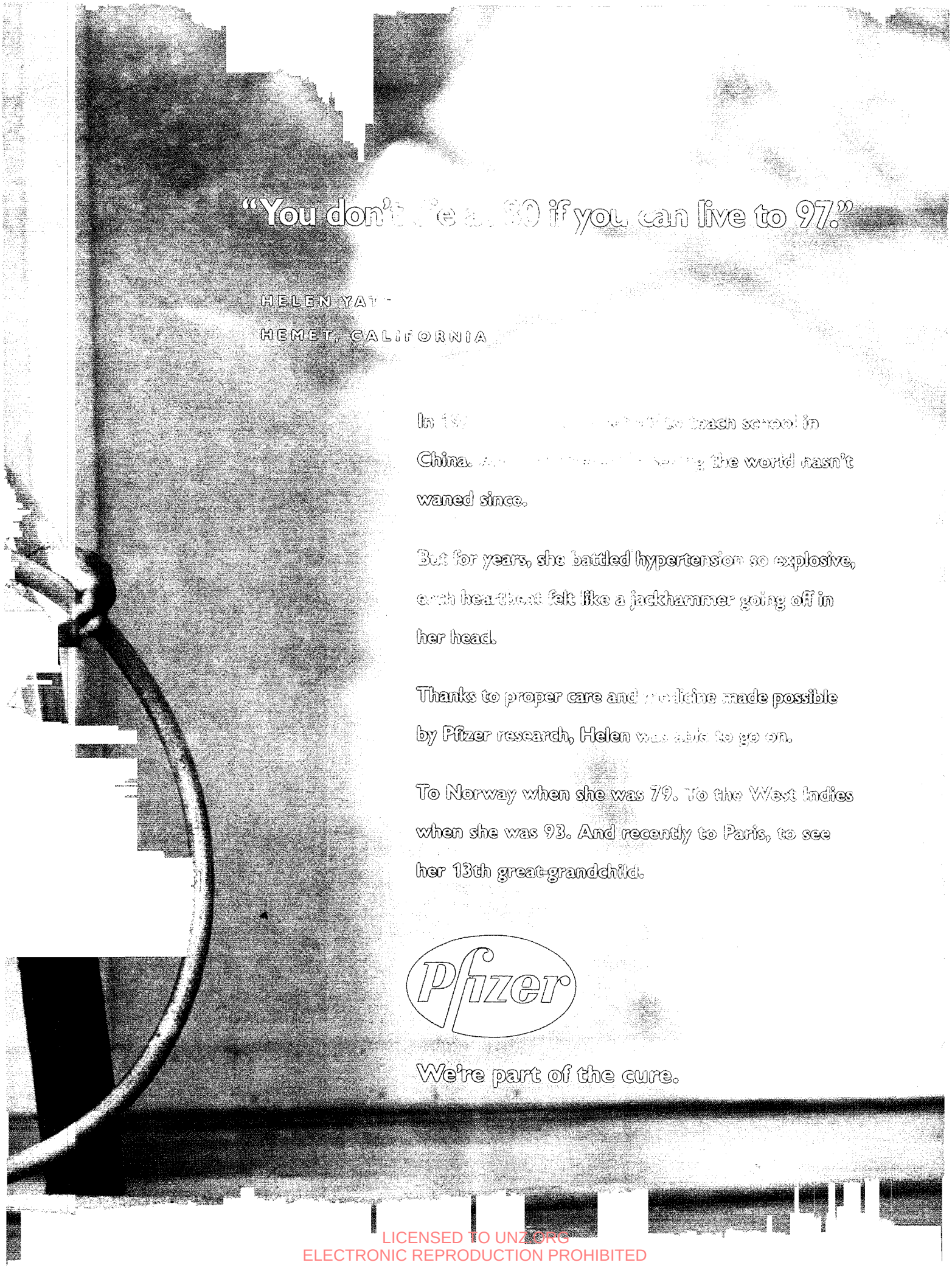

"You don't live to 80 if you can live to 97."

HELEN YATES
HEMET, CALIFORNIA

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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

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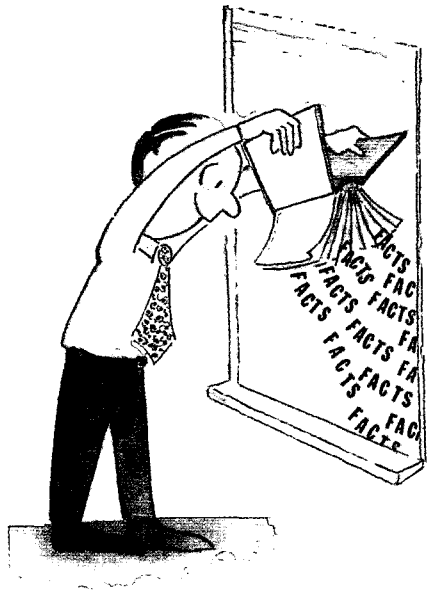

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Bird's Eye

KARL ZINSMEISTER

Days of Confusion

When I was in college in the late '70s I picked up something called *The Commune Cookbook,* written in 1969 by a quintessential hippie named Crescent Dragonwagon (honest). In addition to presenting lots of nutrition tips and some decent recipes, the cookbook preaches the whole nine yards of '60s causes: whole foods, communal living, free love, black power, draft-dodging, anti-capitalism, Eastern philosophy, and "revolution."

I've always found the book amusing, but also troubling, in ways that provide a great metaphor for what was wrong with the 1960s. Here, after all, is a 200-page work packed with warnings about chemicals in the air, poisons in meat, and the grave risks of red dye—that is also laced with references to personal drug use. (Hey, I may jam an exotic array of narcotics into my mouth, nose, and veins, but corn grown with man-made fertilizer does not pass these lips!) And at the same time that it preaches idealism, kindness, and honesty, there is also a whole section in this book instructing people how to live cheaply by thievery.

> Alternatively called stealing, lifting, or ripping off, I like the somewhat more optimistic name for this practice—liberating. If you want to get into this, and you should, examine yourself closely. Raise your consciousness. Question your views of morality. I honestly believe that if I need something it should be mine, or my family's, and that I shouldn't have to pay for it.... Your belief is your main weapon. I *really believe* that I should be able to ride the subways free, do anything I want without paying for it, be able to smoke dope anytime and anywhere, and I will. I *really believe* there will be a revolution, and there will, but for that one, a whole *lot* of people have to believe.

When you read this passage, what do you think of? I think of some dreamy, indulged teenager from a comfortable home in Westchester County in the throes of adolescent rebellion—which is *exactly* who Crescent Dragonwagon (and many others like her) was in 1969. I think of what P. J. O'Rourke—whom we interview later in this magazine—has referred to as "the awful power of make-believe." ("It was a kind of hoggish appetite for romance that sent my spoiled and petulant generation on a journey to Oz," he writes of the '60s, "a journey from which some of us are only now straggling back, in intellectual tatters.")

Of course teenagers have been throwing high-blown and moralistic fits of childishness since the dawn of time. So what was new about the '60s? What was new was that in the '60s the children were allowed to get away with it. Instead of rebutting their exaggerations and silliness, the adult culture told the kids they were idealists and visionaries. Then suddenly *whole bunches* of people started growing their hair, inventing their own rules, and railing against limits, responsibility, and adulthood. A couple million Peter Pans said "I *really believe* that..." and WHAM! many of the grown-ups running the country were dressing, thinking, and acting in confused sympathy.

On page 14 we reprint a story that Peter Collier tells about Jane Fonda. Having become bored with life in France with her husband, Fonda flew to the U.S. to "get involved" with the "revolutionary movement." She bopped over to Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, where some radical Indians were staging a "takeover," and within hours was advancing

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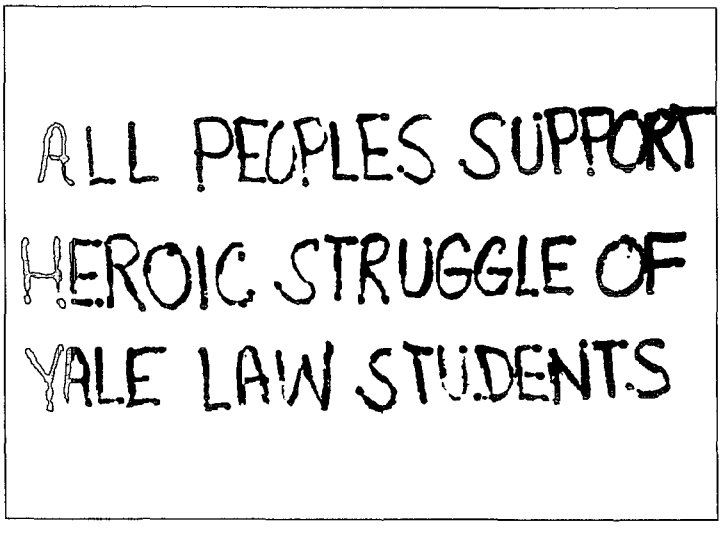
THE '60S WERE A TIME OF HORRENDOUS DISLOCATION, A DISASTER NEARLY AVERTED FOR WHICH WE ARE STILL PAYING AND SHALL CONTINUE TO PAY.

the cause by smoking dope with them in the old prison yard. Over the next couple years she acted out an *opéra bouffe* parody of the revolutionary—signing her letters "Power to the people!", and discoursing gravely on capitalism's war against the gentle people of Vietnam. The wonder of all this is that anyone could listen to such a person and do anything other than snicker out loud.

On more than a few occasions, the fundamentally adolescent nature of America's '60s blow-up became apparent. At one point when a riot nearly occurred on the Yale campus, student Kurt Schmoke (who is now Mayor of Baltimore) was selected to voice student demands to the faculty. The writer John Hersey, who was on the Yale faculty at that time, recalls the moment: "Kurt walked to the podium.... What kind of abusive rhetoric would we hear? In a trembling voice, Kurt spoke only five or six brief sentences, to this effect: 'The students on this campus are confused, they're frightened. They don't know what to think. You are older than we are, and more experienced. We want guidance from you, moral leadership. On behalf of my fellow students, I beg you to give it to us."

That is one of the most honest statements of '60s angst I know of. Personally, I suspect that a lot of '60s rebellion could be traced back to a lack of family guidance—very often, I imagine, to distant or weak 1950s fathers. The mouths of these kids may have been saying "leave me alone," but their actions were often saying "please show me the boundaries."

In his essay on page 72, Bill Bennett notes that having so many adults go AWOL when the '60s kids came looking for meaning and direction caused big cultural problems. He points out that "throughout history it has been the propensity of the young to rebel and push the limits. It has always been the responsibility of adults to push back. What was new starting in the 1960s was that many adults no longer pushed back.... [They] became intellectually and morally disarmed."



Sign in the 1970 Yale Law School yearbook of Ben Stein (and Bill and Hillary Clinton).

When that happened, the country began to experience something more serious than just a rash of infantile hedonism, something bigger than large-scale adolescent rebellion. At that point, the 1960s turned into a national nervous breakdown.

In its initial, adolescent, phase, the '60s ruckus often had nothing to do with politics, or "idealism," or making a better world. What we saw in action was plain old-fashioned self-indulgence. "A lot of it was just kids having fun," says former radical Lynn Scarlett, author of one of the articles in this issue. "Rioting was fun. Running around in the street at night venting your spleen was fun." Drugs, easy sex, and other feel-good aspects of the experience were the main lure.

As David Horowitz illustrates in our lead feature, there were true believers in the upper vanguard of '60s radicals who were every bit as monstrous and scary as any totalitarians in history. Given half a chance, these individuals would have competed with Stalin in the record books of ideological atrocity. But genuinely dangerous power-freaks and utopianists never get far on American soil, and it was a much softer and more self-interested participant who became the decade's garden-variety "radical." These people bore no resemblance to Russia's "man of steel"; they were mostly coddled goofs, as writer Ben Stein reminisces from his days at Yale Law School:

> We could rush out to demonstrate on the New Haven Green against war and racism, and hear speeches by Huey and Bobby and Eldridge and Gene Genet. Then we would come back to be served lunch on white linen tablecloths in the law dining room, by waiters in uniform. Peter Broderick, now a producer in Hollywood, and I would walk across the leafy campus, so far from Vietnam, putting up posters for the Yale Law School Film Society benefits for the Black Panthers and think of ourselves as brave revolutionaries just for taking a walk and using a staple gun.

Ben adds, reinforcing my point about weak grown-ups in the '60s, that "the teachers were cowed and hardly dared to ask anything difficult in class. For major anti-war or Black Panther demonstrations, class was canceled altogether." In the notorious April 1969 campus incident at Cornell, a famous philosophy professor announced the faculty's complete capitulation to gun-toting radicals by whimpering an assurance to the mob that "you don't have to intimidate us." You could say that again.

The common effort to excuse the many riots, destructive incidents, and violent protests of the '60s on the grounds that they grew out of runaway idealism is absolute bullhockey. Runaway narcissism is more like it. When the Englishman Edmund Burke wrote 200 years ago that "the greatest crimes do not arise from a want of feeling for others but from an over-sensibility for *ourselves* and an over-indulgence to our own desires," he bril-

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liantly anticipated America in the Age of Aquarius. The petty selfishness masquerading as high purpose of most '60s "radicals" was eventually exposed by Richard Nixon, notes professor Allan Bloom. "With his unerring instinct for the high moral ground," Bloom observes wryly, Nixon "assessed his student antagonists, and ended the draft. Miraculously the student movement came to an end, although the war continued for almost three years thereafter." Give the monkey his banana, in other words, and suddenly his higher causes evaporate.

But while selfishness was on parade in the '60s, the more admirable sides of human nature were also there. The untold story of the era is that though protesters and counterculturists got all the ink, most Americans kept their sense of balance and did the right thing. Our articles by James Webb and Glenn Loury, and the collection of pieces titled "Right in the '60s," demonstrate that the majority of the country never bought the radical agenda. Not by a longshot. A great many citizens, in fact, consciously resisted the nihilistic passions of the day. In some cases (I'm particularly thinking of soldiers who served willingly in Vietnam despite abysmal execution of the war by politicians), they did this literally at risk of life and limb.

We must never stop being grateful that so many Americans traditionally react this way in times of national stress. As the great critic of romanticism Irving Babbitt once pointed out: "To accept responsibility is to follow the line of maximum effort, whereas man's secret desire is to follow...the line of lesser resistance. The endless twisting and dodging...that results is surely the least reputable aspect of human nature." Conversely, when a man or woman resists self-interest and prevailing fashion to do the right thing, that is the very definition of heroism. Though they were rarely profiled (much less celebrated) on the news, there were plenty of real American heroes in the 1960s.

The '60s brought the popularization of a whole new social posture that combined bold professions of anti-conventionalism with slavish attachment to the toys and personal comforts of affluence. Tom Wolfe called it "radical chic," and illustrated it brilliantly with his (true) story of the cocktail party Leonard Bernstein hosted in his high-security, multi-million-dollar apartment as a benefit for cop-killing, property-heisting Black Panthers. By the time the '60s opened, the *New Yorker* magazine had become a guidebook to blatantly counterfeit posturing of this sort—where paeans to welfare mothers and misunderstood muggers are matched with ads on facing pages for emerald pinky rings and crystal catfood bowls. "No other journal so elegantly combines the comforts of privilege with the glamour of dissent," wrote Stan Evans in 1961, and it was precisely from silk and velvet ranks like *New Yorker* subscribers that the radical movement (then as now) drew most of its activists (see the sidebar on page 39).

Play radicalism of the sort that took root in the '60s had obvious appeal for kids (and supposed adults) who found to their surprise that they could get away with it. And truth be told, the toll exacted on a typical Yale Law or *New Yorker* firebreather was probably not so awful. Certainly Jane Fonda has rebounded nicely. A famous father, a trust fund, and some plastic surgery can do wonders to save you from the vengeance of personal stupidity.

But there were lots of less-cushioned kids from Virginia and Chicago and Oklahoma who went off to Vietnam and paid a horrible price for the paralysis our play-acting revolutionaries inflicted on America in the late 1960s. (Here again, see the Webb and Loury articles in this issue.) And back home, there were thousands of midwestern boys and girls like Charlie Geisler who got swept up in the '60s daydream only to awake in a nightmare of personal and family destruction (pages 50-51).

Worst of all, wherever the societal actions and personal advice of establishment liberals touched poor people—on questions of crime, work, family structure, drug use, and personal responsibility—Americans were sentenced to languish and die in ever-more hellish ghettos. (A few causes and effects are documented in INDICATORS, page 19.) As critic and former radical Joseph Epstein summarizes, the '60s were "a time of horrendous dislocation, a disaster nearly averted, a damn near thing...for which we are still paying and shall continue to pay."

The later feature articles in this issue are devoted to chronicling some of the precise ways and places where decisions made in the '60s continue to exact a price on American society in the 1990s. Andrew Thomas discusses how the troubling marijuana boom among today's teenagers is linked to the '60s histories and attitudes of their baby-boomer parents. Joel Kotkin warns that the U.S. labor movement has recently been taken over by former '60s radicals, a development which will have many important consequences for our society. In a series of consecutive articles, we show that American public schools and universities are now dominated by '60s ideas and '60s people, and that this accounts for much of the educational droop now afflicting the nation.

Other articles sketch some of the ways that 1990s electoral politics is being affected by echoes from the 1960s. Today's annoying mix in the political realm of highly sanctimonious *rhetoric* with starkly sleazy *behavior* is a classic '60s pattern. This, as Armstrong Williams points out on page 57, is a problem that afflicts '60s kid Newt Gingrich. And it is a characteristic that utterly defines the Clinton White House (a veritable clearinghouse for former '60s radicals).

Recall Mrs. Clinton's stringent attacks on "'80s greed"—when we now know that she is herself a woman who will gouge

WHEREVER THE SOCIETAL ACTIONS AND PERSONAL ADVICE OF '60S LIBERALS TOUCHED POOR PEOPLE—ON QUESTIONS OF CRIME, WORK, FAMILY STRUCTURE, DRUG USE, AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY—AMERICANS HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO LANGUISH AND DIE IN EVER-MORE HELLISH GHETTOS.

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THE CLINTONS HAVE OFFERED PERFECT UPDATES ON THE '60S TACTIC OF DEMANDING ECONOMIC JUSTICE WHILE PUBLISHING MANUALS ON HOW TO LIVE CHEAPLY BY STEALING.

anywhere she can to make money. Recall how the indirect involvement of President Bush's son in a failed S&L became fodder for vicious Clinton campaign attacks on "S&L bandits"—this righteous protest being launched just months after Bill and Hillary had secretly finished participating in a *real* S&L looting. Recall the promises that this would be the "most ethical" administration ever. Ha. Consider the hubris it takes to demand additional campaign finance laws just weeks after carrying out massive and flagrant violations of the *existing* laws. Reflect on the insincerity and baldfaced duplicity that have characterized this administration since its earliest days. These are the works of quintessential '60s kids.

The Clintons have offered perfect updates on the '60s tactic of demanding economic justice while publishing manuals on how to live cheaply by stealing. They are the '90s equivalents of protesters who expressed their insistence on "peace" by throwing bricks through windows. Today's political hypocrisies are being carried out by the very same men and women who 30 years ago filled their lungs with marijuana smoke while simultaneously demanding organic purity from grocers. The sanctimony, confusion, and devious calculation of America's '60s radicals, dressed in more acceptable clothing, have now been routinized in our highest levels of politics.

The research and interviews presented by Fred Barnes on pages 52-55 shed some light in this regard. Read Ira Magaziner's messianic '60s history, for instance, and see if you mightn't have predicted that he'd be the one to cook up HillaryCare—the Clinton medical reform that arrogantly proposed to remake a seventh of the U.S. economy with the swoop of one 1,300 page government bill.

In our last issue we explored the importance of traditional ideas and institutions in sustaining a culture. In many ways, the '60s are a cautionary about what happens to any society that throws away tradition when it has nothing better to replace it with. They are a warning that where "the laws of our fathers are forgotten" (as a recent novel by Scott Turow puts it), human pain and destruction will follow.

The '60s were precisely that sort of time. Though I was young, I remember the era as a blur of protests, race riots, assassinations, hostile confrontations, announcements of social decay, military setbacks, drug deaths, violent concerts, takeovers, foreign bullying, impeachment hearings, and ghetto disturbances. I remember finding national life so relentlessly grim that I literally could not force myself to read the newspapers during those years. It was simply too depressing.

We continue to suffer from lingering '60s damage today, and one of the inspirations for this issue of *The American Enterprise* was to help speed reversal of that damage wherever possible. The other goal of our glance backward is to try to rescue some overlooked verdicts of '60s history. Since our last trashing of the laws of our fathers was so traumatic, it's essential the country avoid repeating the same mistakes. Understanding more accurately what happened to our national nervous and immune systems one generation ago is critical to this.

That's why you are about to go time-travelling with contributors like Horowitz, Loury, Rohrabacher, Scarlett, Barone, Webb, Geisler, and Barnes. This is living history. And much of it (for instance, our coverage of *right-wing* '60s activism, our exposure of anti-Vietnam war treachery, and our documentation of true conservative silent majorities in the '60s) we have worked hard to rescue from hidden and even deliberate obscurity.

The nation dare not rely on standard academic channels for its explanations and analysis of '60s history—for our colleges and universities are now theme parks of '60s fashion. Yesteryear's bomb-builders are now the tenured establishment on campus, and they do not look kindly on critical interpretations of their coming-out decade.

As David Farber, a 39-year-old freethinker teaching at Barnard College, warned in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* in 1994, "a young scholar is...bucking the already long odds of finding and keeping a decent job if he or she challenges certain myths of the '60s." Richard Ellis, another post-'60s revisionist, recently described to the academic journal *Lingua Franca* how this fox-guarding-the-henhouse problem works. When he submitted a paper on the left-wing '60s student group SDS to the *Journal of American History,* the three evaluating readers all turned out to be former members of SDS who did not want his critique published. "I don't think the author is asking the right questions and I disagree with her/his answers. I do not think her/his thesis is borne out by what I know.... I think it is a fundamental misreading of the New Left," complained one—without offering any specifics. "It's as if you were writing on the Reagan administration and the journal sent your paper to Jeane Kirkpatrick, Ed Meese, and Caspar Weinberger," complains Ellis.

Which is why we are here.

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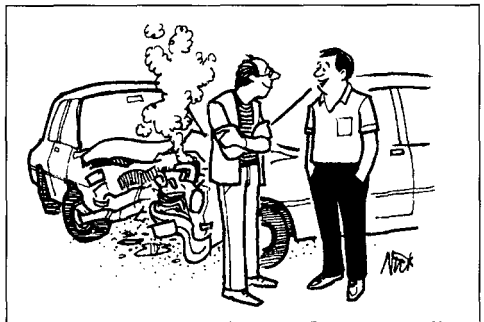
Sidelights

Leading economic indicator? French champagne production hit a new record last year. ❧ According to Tax Analysts of Virginia, **Albert Einstein** complained his tax return was "too difficult for a mathematician. It takes a philosopher." · · · The Girl Scouts must sell over 80,000 boxes of cookies to pay their liability insurance, says economist **Ralph Reiland**. ❧ Hippie scholarship: Le Figaro Cafe in Greenwich Village has hired British archivists to chronicle its beatnik and hippie happenings in the '50s and '60s. · · · The Pentagon's vending machines sell **Ben & Jerry**'s Peace Pops. · · · A recent issue of glamorous *George* featured a two-page photograph of comedian **Cheech Marin** impersonating **Che Guevara**, with this quotation from Che's *oeuvre:* "The true revolutionary is inspired by a great feeling of love." · · · Last November, exit pollsters failed to ask voters their veteran status for the first time since World War II. ❧ Schoolchildren's rock-throwing at the Alabama **Shakespeare** Festival led actors to end a performance. · · · William and Mary, long proud of having the nation's oldest college honor code, has "revised" it: Students will no longer be punished for failing to report violations. · · · In 1995, twice as many youths volunteered for MTV's "Real World" TV show as for the Peace Corps. · · · Ever wonder what kind of student reads *The Progressive?* One advertiser offers 19,278 term papers in stock for students in need. ❧ After assaulting a gang member, rap music executive **Marion "Suge" Knight** was sentenced to nine years. · · · One Los Angeleno's TV ad for legalized marijuana implored, "Can't we all get a bong?" ❧ A San Francisco city supervisor has urged the city to license group-sex clubs so as to curb the spread of AIDS. The city's health department head comments, "It's such a sensible thing that it's hard to think of a reason not to." ❧ **Michael Lerner**, guru of the "politics of meaning," admits to penning letters supposedly written to his magazine *Tikkun* by subscribers. "Sometimes he has to concoct a community," an associate explained to the *Washington Post.*

FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL—PERMISSION, CARTOON FEATURES SYNDICATE



"How about that! I take Prozac too."

The 538,000 Pennsylvanians licensed to carry concealed weapons include dozens of public officials in Philadelphia alone. Registrar of Wills **Ronald Donatucci** adds, "a gun isn't enough—you need a hand grenade." · · · A California woman is blazing a path into a previously male-dominated vocation: working alone, she's a suspect in seven armed bank robberies. ❧ Businessmen outnumber lawyers in Congress for the first time since *Congressional Quarterly* started counting in 1953. · · · In 1996, reports the National Taxpayers Union, pro-spending testimony before Congress outweighed cut-spending testimony 192 to 38 pounds. · · · Former Republican chairman **Haley Barbour** suggests Democrats put bunk beds in the Lincoln Bedroom "so you can double your big-donor file." ❧ The Communist Party USA gave a Working Class Culture award to **Al Franken** for writing *Rush Limbaugh Is a Big Fat Idiot.* "I'm flattered," he said. ❧ The Navy is surveying 16,000 sailors on their sexual practices, but the Family Research Center objects that there are no "questions about sexual jealousies, sex for favors, and fraternization aboard ship." · · · Colleagues protested that police officers **Robert Davis** and **Tammy Merritt** couldn't be relied on for back-up; surveillance cameras discovered they were kissing at the station house. They were suspended (and later resigned) after refusing to say whether they had had sex on duty. ❧ *Newsweek* religion editor **Kenneth Woodward** says religious cover stories have been the magazine's best-sellers in recent years. · · · Ten percent of Americans think **Joan of Arc** was married to **Noah**, the Barna Group reports. ❧ **Helen Gurley Brown**'s last issue as editor of *Cosmopolitan* bragged the magazine was "number one at college-campus bookstores"; it also advised women whose beaux had car-fixation: "Perfume the bedroom with an auto air freshener. Attach fuzzy dice, like tassels, to your breasts." · · · Dartmouth offers a course on "Exploring Strange New Worlds: A Sociology of *Star Trek,*" reports *Heterodoxy.* · · · Ontario College of Art student **Jubal Brown** says he's on a mission to "liberate individuals and living creatures" from oppression by artistic masterpieces, which he plans to do by vomiting on three classic works in one primary color each. A **Mondrian** has already been hit. · · · **Michael Kearney** earned a college degree at 11 years of age and entered grad school. His future plans? To become a game-show host.

In a recent opus, *Washington Post* columnist **Richard Cohen** used *I, me,* and *my* 66 times in 58 sentences. ❧ Moved by a judicial controversy in Alabama, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution stating that public display of the Ten Commandments in government offices and courthouses "should be permitted." Four Republicans voted nay, 79 Democrats yea. · · · Tennessee's ACLU chapter physically removed would-be leafleteers standing outside its Bill of Rights dinner, grumbles civil libertarian **Nat Hentoff**. ❧ One woman, one car, two bumper stickers: "So many men / So few with brains"and "Grow your own dope / Plant a man." —*SW*

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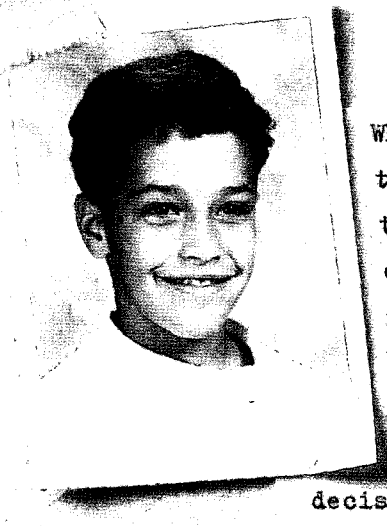

Whether your child is 8 or 18, there's one topic that's always timely to discuss: underage drinking. And talking about it can make a difference. According to kids themselves, their parents play the most influential role when it comes to making decisions about drinking.

That's why Anheuser-Busch offers a free guide for parents called "Family Talk About Drinking." Developed by authorities on child development and family counseling, this guide covers topics like peer pressure, self-esteem and drinking and driving.

So start the conversation now. Call 1-800-359-TALK. Your timing is perfect.

This is the perfect age to talk to him about drinking.

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SCAN

SHOCK ROCKERS

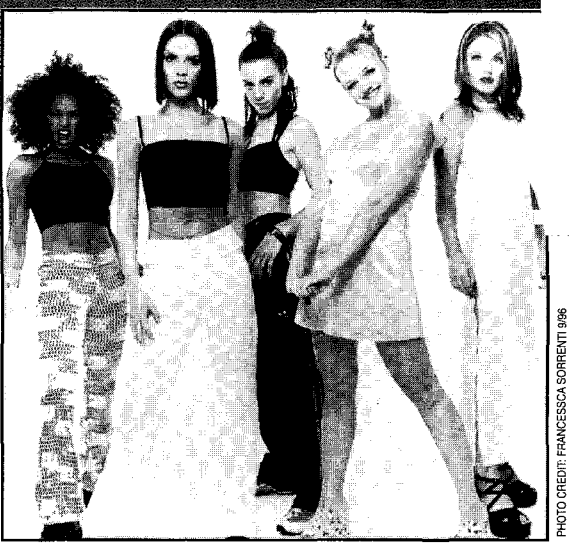

PHOTO CREDIT: FRANCESSCA SORRENTI 9/96

WHATEVER YOU DO, DON'T MAKE A SCENE

At the beginning of the 105th Congress, House Republicans came on like the king of the jungle, roaring at Beltway bandits by enacting Rep. John Doolittle's (R-Calif.) Truth in Testimony sunshine rule, requiring witnesses who appear before House committees and subcommittees to reveal all federal grants and contracts they (or their organization) have received in the past three years.

The lion's roar was almost immediately drowned out by the pitter-patter of paws in retreat, as Congress lost courage on racial preferences, the National Endowment for the Arts, and much more. As part of this retreat, some Republicans gave up the Truth in Testimony weapon they had only just fashioned for the fight against bloated government.

Squishy Representatives and even some conservatives were scared off by big business and big labor, the two-headed monster feeding on the $250 billion worth of federal contracts and grants awarded each year. In the Committee on Education and the Workforce, in particular, representatives of big business and big labor successfully dodged full-disclosure requirements.

House Democrats—who had previously never met a government requirement they didn't love—suddenly were disturbed by the paperwork burden of the full-disclosure rule. Republicans also felt sorry for multibillion-dollar conglomerates who might be embarrassed by the requirement. According to press reports, when TRW—which receives nearly $3 billion in federal tax dollars—balked at advertising their reliance on government money, a TRW employee was allowed to testify in a "personal capacity" (without disclosure) at a February 5 hearing.

At the same hearing, the AFL-CIO avoided disclosing the millions in federal largesse it has received over the past three years. This spectacle was repeated again on February 11, in a hearing on reforming federal job training programs. This time, the AFL-CIO flat out lied: it denied receiving job-training funds, even though its Human Resources Development Institute is a grantee of the Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration. The penalty for this lawbreaking? Not even a slap on the wrist.

While Republicans were busy undermining their own reform, Nan Aron of the Alliance for Justice and her cabal of taxpayer-funded radical lawyers were eagerly stretching every conceivable loophole to avoid compliance with the rule. Commenting on this sad spectacle, the *Houston Chronicle* editorialized for strict enforcement of Truth in Testimony, reminding the House that "public money does not belong to…big business or labor unions."

But by then Republican knees were buckling. In early March, Rep. Tom Campbell (R-Calif.) joined forces with Rep. David Skaggs (D-Colo.) on a bill that would repeal the Doolittle rule. Their claim: Truth in Testimony intimidates witnesses!

The good news is that Truth in Testimony has the firm backing of Rules Committee Chairman Gerald Solomon (R-N.Y.), and will remain a House rule. The committees that have been so lax about the law are reportedly tightening their enforcement. And technology may soon compensate for cowardice: Rep. Pete Sessions (R-Tex.) is drafting the "Federal Funding Electronic Disclosure Act of 1997," which would require the General Services Administration to create, at minimal cost, an easily accessible, search-friendly World Wide Web site to catalogue recipients of federal grants and contracts. Speaker Gingrich is enthralled by the proposal, and, if it passes, groups that gobble taxpayer dollars will soon have no way to hide that fact.

*—**Kenneth R. Weinstein** is director of the Government Reform Project at the Heritage Foundation.*

THAT OLE DEVIL, PARTISANSHIP

In his State of the Union address, President Clinton said of the Cold War: "One of the greatest sources of our strength throughout the Cold War was a bipartisan foreign policy.… Because our future was at stake, politics stopped at the water's edge."

What? Politics did not stop at the water's edge. That's where politics truly heated up. The bipartisan consensus on fighting the Cold War lasted approximately from 1945 to 1965. The period of 1965 to 1989, it seems absurd to have to remind people, was a period of profound and bitter division over foreign policy.

The Republican party remained committed to opposing communism. That commitment took many forms. It meant

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support for a very strong and technologically advanced American military. (The Democrats decried spending for weapons "we don't need and that don't work.") It meant support for the government of South Vietnam (which Democrats opposed, spelling Vietnam's doom). It meant support for the various freedom-fighter movements around the globe—the contras in Nicaragua, the mujahadeen of Afghanistan, and Jonas Savimbi's forces in Angola. Most of all, opposition to world communism meant a muscular and firm antipathy to the Soviet Union and its interests.

Date it however you like (the Tet offensive of 1968?), but at a certain point between 1965 and 1970, most of the Democratic party simply resigned from fighting the Cold War. There is no other way to say it.

For the Democratic party, the Vietnam War was not just an unsuccessful or unfortunate move on the Cold War chessboard. It marked instead a sea change in the way Democrats saw the United States. For Democrats, Vietnam undermined the entire anti-communist enterprise. The struggle for South Vietnam's freedom came to be seen as pointless or, worse, an effort to impose America's corrupt system abroad. And Democrats began viewing the Cold War in terms of moral equivalence—merely two giants maneuvering for power.

Starting with the cutoff of aid to South Vietnam in 1974, the Democratic Congress opposed nearly every significant Cold War policy. Richard Perle, assistant secretary of defense during the Reagan administration (and dubbed the "Prince of Darkness" by those who preferred a softer line toward the Soviets), recalls that during sensitive arms-control negotiations with the Soviet Union, the Democrats in Congress were constantly undercutting the administration's position by floating alternative policies of their own.

Does anyone remember the nuclear freeze or the massive national argument over deployment of Pershing missiles in Europe? Do the words Strategic Defense Initiative ring any bells? Has everyone forgotten the clash over Central America?

There was a time, before the Cold War was won, when the term "cold warrior" was a term of derision. It was applied to people who were too nationalistic, "too one-dimensional" in their distrust of the Soviet Union, and insufficiently committed to "peace."

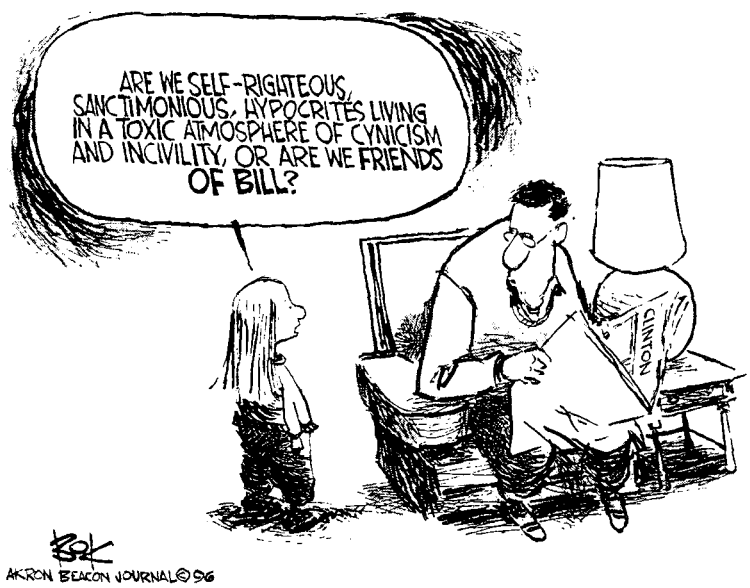
Has President Clinton perhaps forgotten the "Dear Commandante" letter then-House Majority Leader Jim Wright wrote to the communist leader of Nicaragua while Reagan was seeking aid to the contras? The letter expressed support and hoped that he'd tone down the internal repression a bit to help defeat contra aid. Has he forgotten that Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) traveled to Nicaragua to urge then-editor Violetta Chamorro to accept press censorship in the interests of peace? Has he forgotten the scorn with which Reagan's speech labeling the Soviet Union an "evil empire" was greeted in Democratic circles?

President Clinton has forgotten none of this. Heck, he was demonstrating against America's Vietnam policy in Oxford, England. But the Cold War has since been won. The former Soviets have acknowledged that they were an evil empire and that Reagan's saying so—and strengthening the American military—helped bring it down.

The debate over how or indeed whether to fight communism dominated the last 25 years as did no other issue. The cold warriors turned out to be right—which is why President Clinton, who was on the other side, is obscuring the history now.

*—**Mona Charen** is a syndicated columnist and former White House speechwriter.*

PERMISSION—CREATORS SYNDICATE



LEARNING ABOUT LOVE ON CAMPUS

A report from the March 1 edition of the NBC Nightly News:

"It's not exactly what college dating used to be. In fact, on campuses these days, when they talk about meeting the right person, they don't talk about for how long.

BETTY ROLLIN reporting: It's the start of a typical social evening at the University of Michigan, and everybody knows the routine. You gather in somebody's room or apartment, you talk, you horse around, and mainly you drink. Then:

MS. JENNY VEVE (University of Michigan senior): Once you've got the buzz, once you're feeling ready, then we'll head over to a bar, and then as soon as we get in, you get another drink.

ROLLIN: And another, and another after that. Although studies show some decline in campus drinking, the number of binge drinkers has remained constant, and has gone up among women. And drinking, these kids say, often leads to what they call "hooking up," the '90s term for one-night stands.

MS. VEVE: It's when you go to the bar and you're drunk enough to go home with somebody. You usually take him back to your place, and basically it's just straight sex. You could pass that person on the street the next day and act like you don't know them.

ROLLIN: This suits Adam Clampitt and his friends just fine.

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MR. ADAM CLAMPITT (University of Michigan senior): I had a need, I fulfilled it, and there's no commitment afterwards. And I think that's very attractive.
ROLLIN: It beats dating, says Chris McAnn—a practice which on this campus and others is history.
MR. CHRIS MCANN (University of Michigan senior): Dating takes a lot of time, it costs a lot of money, and also I think out of the little time that you have, you want to kind of maximize what you get out of it.
ROLLIN: And what do the women get out of it? Like the men, sex without strings, though some don't approve.
UNIDENTIFIED GIRL #1: They go home, they use you, and that's it. They never call, you never hear from them again.
UNIDENTIFIED GIRL #2: Think about when you're drunk, do you really think about protection? No.
ROLLIN: Unsurprisingly, among college age women, about one in seven has some kind of sexually transmitted disease. All of this is part of a major social change on campus, and not only here at Michigan. A recent study of more than 9,000 students at 30 colleges and universities nationwide found that students avoid committed relationships, and for many of the same reasons.
DR. ARTHUR LEVINE (Columbia University): They see relationships as not a plus that can sustain them, they see it as a liability that could potentially drag them down.
ROLLIN: That one-third of the students' parents are divorced also plays a role.
MR. CLAMPITT: My parents were divorced when I was very young, when I was six years old, and I haven't seen a real relationship.
ROLLIN: And as Jenny says, many college women today don't demand one.
MS. VEVE: Women will sleep with men the first night, randomly, and as long as that is going on, I really don't see why men feel the need to date.
ROLLIN: And if they do, Dr. Levine's study shows that old-fashioned daters are knocked.
DR. LEVINE: The term used for people who coupled up early in college is "Velcro twins"; they go everywhere together, they do everything together.
ROLLIN: The results of these new social patterns are not yet known, but Dr. Levine says that many of these kids want a future very different from their present.
DR. LEVINE: This is a group that talks about marriage, and kids, and the traditional family as a goal for life.
ROLLIN: But the social lessons they're learning on campus, he says, are more about sex than love, more about getting than giving.

WELFARE TOUGHNESS HAVING RESULTS

Something very interesting is happening on the welfare front. Back in March 1994, the AFDC caseload nationwide totaled 14.4 million recipients. By December 1996 it had fallen to 11.5 million, a remarkable 20 percent reduction. And the trend is still accelerating—fully 650,000 recipients left the rolls in just the last four months of 1996.

What's happening? Well, since 1994 the country has gotten a Republican Congress, undergone a loud welfare debate, and finally passed a reasonably stern welfare reform bill. But of course that bill's measures are only just beginning to go into effect, and won't be felt fully for years. So, again, what's going on?

The so-called "psychological bomb" is what's going on (or, more properly, going off). American Enterprise Institute fellow Ben Wattenberg explains:

"Those in and around the welfare system believe the end is nigh. The word is on the street about two-year time limits, five-year time limits, immediate work requirements, and new certification requirements. All this, mixed with denunciations of heartless conservatives who would throw babies into the street, has scared people in poverty communities."

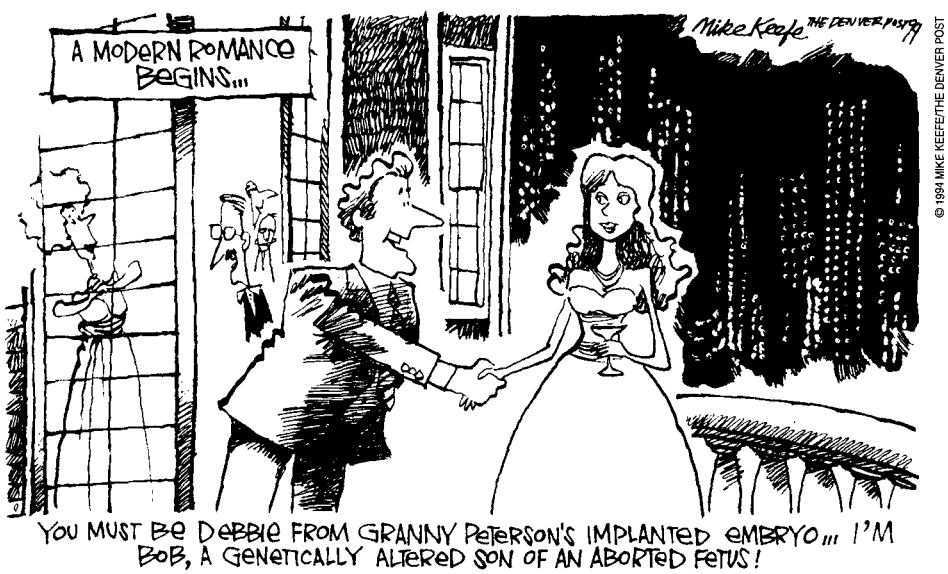
"If a recipient who has been working off-the-books is told that an on-the-books job will now be required at the very hours the recipient had been working off-the-books, that recipient may 'vanish.' Other cases of fraud or near-fraud are also disappearing as the rhetoric and reality of a crackdown continues. Legitimate recipients are making more serious efforts to get off the dole. What's happening here could be big-time. Tough love may be lovely stuff."

THE '60s AND AMERICA'S UNDERCLASS

For the past three years, Booker Stallworth, a senior in political science at the University of Pittsburgh, has been the publisher of *The Phoenix*, a student newspaper at Pitt and Carnegie-Mellon University. "Editorially, we're libertarian and conservative," he explains.

Stallworth is black. "For three years," he says, "people on campus have told me that I can't be black and conservative." His reply? "How can a black person *not* be a conservative? As a black person, I know what government-controlled living is like."

Stallworth links the pathologies in today's black community to the ideology of the 1960s. "The violence and the degradation of the family in the black community is rooted in part in the values and beliefs of the '60s. We see how the wel-



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fare state replaced the father and the effect that's had on young black males. We see the effects of a feminist ideology that says males aren't an important facet of families and the consequences for children who are raised without male role models. With abortion, we see the idea that life has little worth. We see black women told that it's okay to kill their unborn children. Today, that mindset of disrespect for human life is evident in everything from infanticide to gang violence.

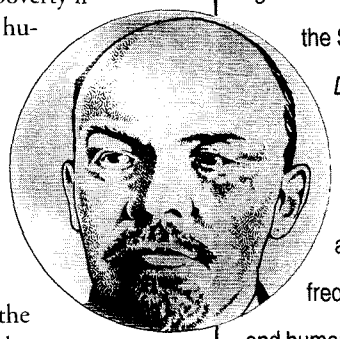
"That 1960s mentality is something that white liberal elites brought into the black community," asserts Stallworth. "Those values are damaging, but the elites, with their salaries, can more easily get away with it than can the poor." In *The Dream and the Nightmare: The Sixties Legacy to the Underclass,* Myron Magnet makes a similar claim. By pushing no-fault sex, instant gratification, drug decriminalization, and the idea that crime is social protest, by exalting victimhood and suggesting individuals have entitlements to economic sustenance, liberal elites created a cultural revolution whose "most mangled victims" turned out to be members of the underclass.

A few years of this well-intentioned Great Society liberalism delivered a more severe blow to the black family than centuries of discrimination, poverty, slavery, and oppression. "Even during the rigors of slavery, 50 to 60 percent of black slave households consisted of two married parents caring for their own children," says Jacki Cissell, cofounder of Black Americans for Traditional Family Values. "In 1960, 69 percent of black children lived with both parents." Today, only 37 percent do.

"Young black males are dropping like flies," says one of my students, Charles Cranke, describing a shooting at a recent party when he was home in Bowie, Maryland. An 18-year-old black majoring in business management, Cranke says "The reason is that good morals and home training are missing from today's society. There aren't enough two-parent families, and the parents that are there aren't as strict as they should be. My father's strict, and he's entrepreneurial. I don't think his biggest problem is racism; it's with other blacks who envy his success. What parents should be doing is encouraging their kids about entrepreneurship and business, so they can be successful."

"One way to read the 1960s is to say it was a failed experiment whose price was paid by the Have-Nots," says sociologist Christopher Jencks. For as American Enterprise Institute fellow Irving Kristol puts it, "It's hard to rise above poverty if society keeps deriding the human qualities that allow you to escape from it."

*—**Ralph R. Reiland** is a professor of economics at Robert Morris College in Pittsburgh.*



LOVELESS LIBERATION

That assertive era we call the '60s pretended to liberate but actually enthralled. Any survey of the period has to begin with its promise of sexual liberation, at once the most and the least successful of its promises.

Sexual liberation was successful in the sense that it was avidly adopted and has had the most consequences of any '60s revolution. It grossly magnified the importance of sex, treating it as a be-all and end-all, and advanced the notion that all restraint in sex is mere irrational inhibition. Moderation or modesty is neither good in itself nor productive of good by permitting us to pursue higher pleasures than sex. On the contrary, the ideal of sexual liberation makes moderation or modesty seem foolish, prudish, and ridiculous.

Though sexual liberation is now respectable, it has utterly failed to produce better sex or more liberation. It has not brought more pleasure, either bodily or psychic. No new modes or new positions have been discovered, as one can see in the sameness of pornography in the new age and the old. The main difficulty in pornography now is to recreate Victorian conventions so as to have something inhibiting to violate. Since innocence is gone, the only remaining barrier to cross is the consent of the other party, but since both are liberated, why should that be withheld? No wonder freer sex has produced more rape, just as prudes would have predicted. No wonder, too, that it has worked to the advantage of men over women, the less aggressive sex. What sexual liberation has really liberated is the desire for power, not sex.

People who in the 1960s promoted the idea of "polymorphous perversity"—that is, sex uninhibited by any notion of the shameful or of what is fitting—have received a rude shock from the emergence of AIDS. Perhaps we should listen more carefully to the vague menaces of unenlightened mothers talking about what happens to people who do funny things for sex. Of course this is not the official response to AIDS, which is confined to sympathy for those affected and large sums for research. Still, the lesson is too obvious to be missed by anyone but a professional in the field.

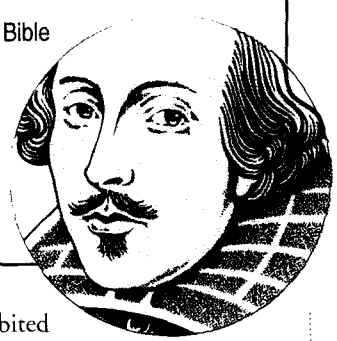
Since the '60s, feminine modesty has reasserted itself, though partly in the guise of feminism. There are now plenty of "nice girls," but they are confused, apologetic, and unsupported by social norms. What they get for advice is, "Have safe sex."

Sex without inhibition is loveless as well as shameless, because love is felt as a

LENIN-MARX TEAM FINISHES FIRST. SHAKESPEARE TRAILS. GOD A WEAK SIXTH.

A telling little nugget from the interesting new book American Academia and the Survival of Marxist Ideas, *by Darío Fernández-Morera:*

"A recent issue of the *Arts & Humanities Index* lists Marx and Lenin as the two most frequently cited sources in arts and humanities journals over a seven-year period. This means that in their professional work, arts and humanities academicians routinely refer to Marx and Lenin more often than to Aristotle, Plato, Shakespeare, or even to God Himself (the Bible ranked only sixth on the list)."



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constraint. Love limits one's options. Under current rules it is better to harden one's heart so as to be able to take off when morning comes. What this attitude forgets is that if you desire sex rather than conquest, you can equal the record of Don Giovanni simply by being happily married. And you don't have to be wealthy or an aristocrat to achieve this. In fact, it helps not to be either.

But Don Giovanni at least sang beautiful songs to deceive his women. With sexual liberation there is no deceit, no seduction, no play, no nuance, no courting, no romance. There may be condoms, if you are lucky.

*—**Harvey C. Mansfield** is Kenan Professor at Harvard and a contributor to* Reassessing the Sixties, *from which this was adapted.*

FREE TO ABUSE

My best friend in the 1960s managed to become a radical overnight. More proof, I see now, that the countercultural appeal was not to reason.

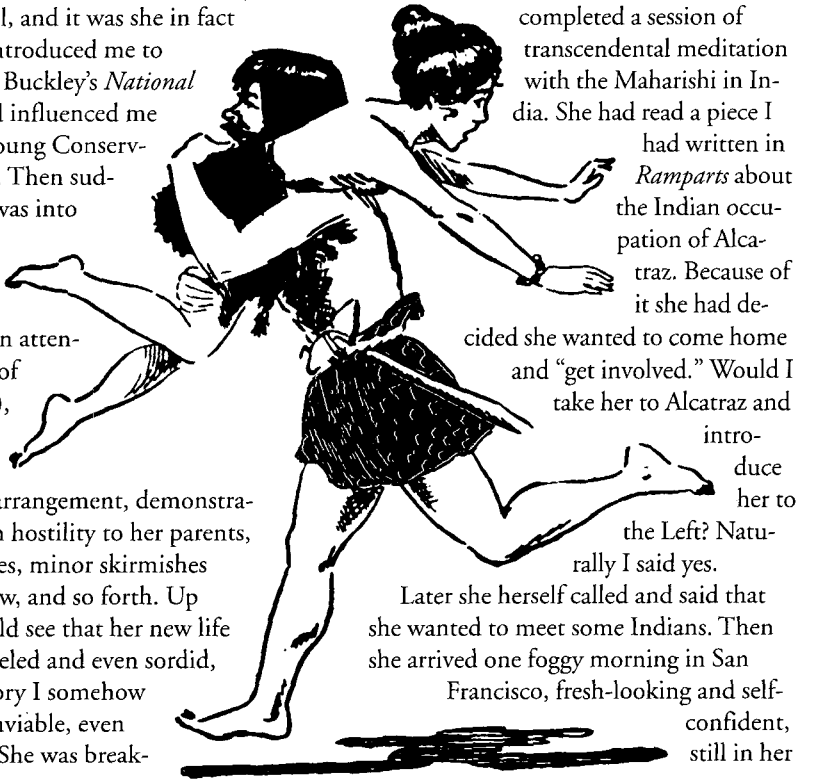
Hers was a really startling transformation that eventually tore us apart. She was beautiful, bright, creative, athletic, funny, a wonderful friend, and full of promise which had begun to blossom in college. We had been close from freshman year in high school, and it was she in fact who had introduced me to William F. Buckley's *National Review* and influenced me to join a Young Conservative Club. Then suddenly she was into everything—drugs, sex (with an attendant bout of gonorrhea), a sort of communal living arrangement, demonstrations, open hostility to her parents, nude parties, minor skirmishes with the law, and so forth. Up close I could see that her new life was disheveled and even sordid, but in theory I somehow found it enviable, even romantic. She was breaking all the shackles, she was finding herself, she was free.

Her boyfriend treated her with a jealous, domineering, sexual possessiveness that sometimes tipped over into sadism—another contradiction that I could not quite fathom at the time. None of the non-radical men I knew would have dared to treat a woman that way—putting his hand down her blouse in public to show proof of ownership. We are accustomed to hearing that modern feminism was born when women in the movement woke up to the shock of how conventionally the radical men behaved toward them. But I wonder how much of the impulse toward feminism arose in opposition to masculine brutality specifically unleashed by countercultural dictates that overthrew social norms, including some types of deference to women.

*—**Carol Iannone**, from "The Wide and Crooked Path," in the book* Political Passages.

THE RESOURCEFUL JANE FONDA

By the end of the 1960s, I realized the Left had caught on and become chic. I got a call early in 1970 from a man in Hollywood who said he represented Jane Fonda. He said that she had broken with former husband Roger Vadim and just completed a session of transcendental meditation with the Maharishi in India. She had read a piece I had written in *Ramparts* about the Indian occupation of Alcatraz. Because of it she had decided she wanted to come home and "get involved." Would I take her to Alcatraz and introduce her to the Left? Naturally I said yes.



Later she herself called and said that she wanted to meet some Indians. Then she arrived one foggy morning in San Francisco, fresh-looking and self-confident, still in her shag-cut "Klute" phase. She said she'd been in exile for too long, that she wanted to be back *in America* because this was where it was "happening." I joked that perhaps she had waited too long; the '60s were over. A look of horror crossed over her face and she said, "Oh, I hope not." I took her to Alcatraz. She was an incredibly quick study, understanding immediately what the power arrangements were on the island, and picking up the radical lingo. She saw, for instance, that there was a factional fight between the Sioux and the other tribes for control of Alcatraz and that the Sioux were more "radical." By the time I left, she was over in their corner of the old prison exercise yard, smoking dope with them.

Later on, as Jane went off on a tour of the reservations I had helped arrange for her, she wrote me a note in a backhanded scrawl expressing her hope that she could be of use in the struggle. It ended with the slogan "power to the people!" Instead of a dot under the exclamation point, there was a little circle. (My wife and I were looking at it later on and she said, "I'm surprised it doesn't have one of those little smiley faces on it.") The next thing I knew she was on the "Dick Cavett Show" with Mark Lane arguing a Marxist line about Southeast Asia. We were there because our imperialism required the natural resources of the area, especially the "tung and tinsten."

I watched Jane's rapid progress through "the Movement" over the next couple of years (culminating in her propaganda appearances in Hanoi) with appreciation and also amusement. I always remembered two things: that little circle under the exclamation point, and the classic spoonerism "tung and tinsten."

—**Peter Collier**, *from "Looking Backward: Memories of the '60s Left," in* Political Passages.

WERE THE '60S A FUN DECADE?

Now that the early baby boomers are turning 50, they are beginning to look back nostalgically at the '60s, arguing that life has never been more fun than during that decade. *New York Times* editor James Atlas, for example, laments "the institutionalized hostility to pleasure" in the 1990s, and argues that when he was at Harvard in

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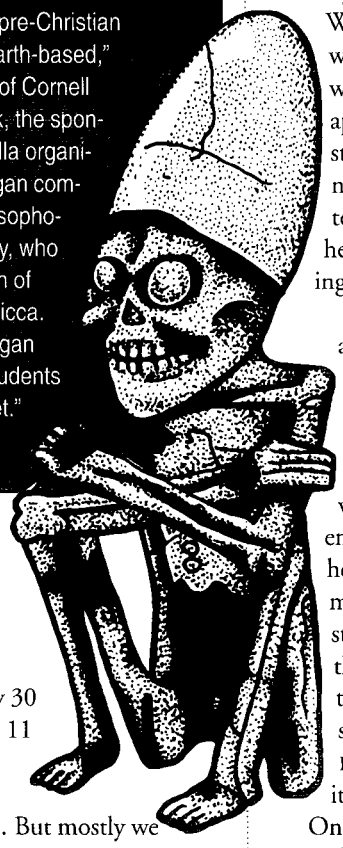
VOODOO ON CAMPUS

It had to happen: Cornell University recently established and funded a campus organization called United Pagan Ministries. The organization aims to be a support group for students practicing Animism, Asatru, Druidry, Elementalism, Witchcraft, Goddess Worship, "and other" faiths. "These are legitimate pre-Christian traditions. They are Earth-based," says Robert Johnson of Cornell United Religious Work, the sponsoring campus umbrella organization. "There is a pagan community," says Cornell sophomore Darlene Maloney, who pursues a combination of nature worship and Wicca. The goal of United Pagan Ministries is to help students come out of the closet."



the 1960s pleasure was the main thing. "Sixty percent of my class smoked marijuana; 16 percent dropped acid. Nearly 30 percent had between 11 and 30 sexual partners.... We marched and demonstrated.... But mostly we had fun."

But why should those activities be considered fun? I would argue that the 1960s were not a fun decade precisely because so much was made of drugs, sex, and radical politics. In pre-pot days, the parties I went to were fun; guys who were witty and told good jokes were popular. There was lots of dancing. When pot became the rage, around the mid-1960s, no one danced anymore, and no one even attempted to be witty or tell jokes. There was mostly silence, as people sat around passing joints while listening to rock music. I smoked pot twice and tried to get into the spirit of the thing, but the solemnity of the ritual always turned me off.

Moreover, the friends of mine who turned to drugs invariably lost their sense of humor. In the late 1960s I had a close friend who was probably the wittiest and smartest person I knew; a religion major at Princeton, he was well-versed in science and literature. In his pre-drug days, when my wife and I spent long weekends with him, his wife, and their young son, we laughed liked crazy doing goofy things, especially playing an odd board game he had invented called Malady, which was as witty and loony as Monty Python.

When he started hanging around with rock singers and experimenting with drugs, his sense of humor disappeared. Our friendship became strained because druggies dislike non-druggies; so we spent less time together. One day we learned that he took off for the Southwest, leaving his wife and child in the lurch.

I had a similar experience with another person—a grad school roommate at Rutgers. At first he seemed like a pleasant guy, but he became increasingly dependent upon drugs, doing pot during the week and dropping LSD on weekends at his parents' apartment. When he returned to school he would give me his LSD-inspired efforts—a stream of semi-conscious writing that was utter nonsense. "You need to be on acid to appreciate it," he said. He eventually stopped taking LSD—or stopped telling me about it—but he was addicted to pot.

Once we were late for a concert, but he insisted on stopping by the side of the road and smoking a joint because he appreciated the music more when he was high. Was this fun or was it obsessive behavior?

Was having many sexual partners fun? From all the informal evidence I've gleaned over the years, it doesn't appear to have been fun for many people. My sense is that many young people in the 1960s—especially women—had a lot of affairs to make the quasi-political point that they were liberated. Peer pressure and the fear of being thought repressed drove a lot of behavior. Millions were badly wounded in the process.

Yet nostalgia for the 1960s is likely to grow as boomers move into late middle age. On National Public Radio the other day, I heard a 1960s-worshipping announcer smugly note that a younger friend confessed to him that he wished he'd come of age during that decade instead of the boring 1990s. In ten years many boomers will be insisting to their grandchildren that they were privileged to grow up during the most fun decade of the century. Grandchildren: Don't you believe it.

—Stephen Miller has written for Commentary, The American Scholar, *and* The Wilson Quarterly.

HAZED AND CONFUSED

The same week the Marine Corps received the good publicity of having boxer Riddick Bowe enlist, the Corps found itself on the ropes with the media as video tapes surfaced showing Marine parachutists pounding gold wings into the chests of their new comrades.

Today, Bowe is back on the street after just three days of training (which puts his military career somewhere in between former Citadel cadet Shannon Faulkner's seven days and Bill Clinton's non-service). Unfortunately for the Marines, while Bowe went home the press did not, and now they have added "hazing" to their list of heinous practices to be rooted out of the backward military culture. *Time* reporter Elizabeth Gleick, who undoubtedly knows lots about training for warfare, waxed so indignant about the "macho ritual" and its "naked sadism" one

IT HAD TO HAPPEN, II

Those of you bored with Barbie and cloyed by Ken now have another option: Billy. He's 13 inches tall, "has arms like a football linebacker and legs like a weightlifter," and wears a trim little sailor's suit, among other snazzy outfits. Billy is also anatomically correct. Reportedly *very* anatomically correct. You see, Billy is gay— "the world's first out and proud gay doll," according to his manufacturer.

We're very happy to say that Billy is imported

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would have thought she were describing a Mapplethorpe exhibit.

As the media hand-wringers pilloried the military, they seemed to relish the opportunity to drive spikes of their own into a culture in which very few of them have ever lived. To be fair, the episodes on tape pushed a traditional military practice a bit far. But the sensationalist outrage expressed was greatly out of proportion to the seriousness of the incident. Not surprisingly, the current military leadership responded by raising their skirts and resignedly welcoming the inevitable paddling.

The simple fact is, hazing is one of mankind's oldest rituals, and not something gratuitous or irrelevant when practiced among soldiers, for whom physical toughness is often a matter of life and death. New lieutenants frequently have shiny gold bars smacked into their shoulders, just as Air Force and Navy aviators have their new wings pinned on. Often—as in my case—it is their own beaming fathers who give them the treatment. (Can I sue Dad for child abuse?)

In every branch of service, enlisted men who become non-commissioned officers traditionally face a gauntlet of their fellow NCOs, eager to punch on their new stripes. As an Air Force sergeant once told me, "I didn't like it a bit—but I'm glad I went through it." When James Webb was Secretary of the Navy, he famously smacked a fourth star onto his Marine commandant, General Al Gray, knocking Gray backwards. "Newbie" Blue Angels, the Navy's acrobatic flyers, face a light-hearted rite of passage that includes consumption of horrendous mixtures of gruel that would make the option of "blood pinning" seem attractive in comparison. Have any of our investigative journalists ever been on a Navy ship as it crosses the equator? I can hear Katie Couric whining already.

Marine officials described the videotaped events as an aberration. An aberration is a deviation outside the proper or expected course—like, say, the secret use of pyrotechnic devices on a truck to cause its fuel tank to explode, or the deliberate encouragement of unsanitary practices at a food store by reporters creating a news story. But those types of aberrations rarely take on lives of their own in the press the way a good old-fashioned poke at soldiering does.

It's time for the media to stop looking at the armed forces the way eighteenth-century missionaries looked at pagan cultures. The military has a difficult job to do, and operates under rules far more onerous than most of us have to put up with in our warm and fuzzy civilian worlds. When transgressions occur, the services must be allowed to police themselves under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, rather than being tried by tabloid or talk show decree.

It is also time for the military leadership to stop quaking in their petticoats when the press comes calling. They need only say, "This is an internal disciplinary matter. Thank you for your interest. Good day." If it's your stars you're worried about, gents, maybe you should find another career.

*—**Major Bill Buckey** is a fighter pilot and combat veteran.*

OUR DELICATELY BALANCED PRESS

When describing how Marines banged quarter-inch pins into each others' chests, the *Washington Post* spared readers no gory detail. The editors ran a graphic photo, and the accompanying story told how Marines were "violently shoving and rubbing the sharp point of the pins into the flesh of fellow Marines. The T-shirts of the new paratroopers soon became stained with their blood, and some of them collapsed in pain, only to be propped up and abused again." This incident, videotaped 6 years ago, rated front-page coverage.

That very same day, the *Post* relegated to its Metro section the news that "at least half the state legislatures have bills pending that would ban or restrict" partial-birth abortions. The story had no photo to explain what the fuss is about. The very term "partial-birth abortion" was daintily put in quotation marks as a phrase "abortion rights opponents use." And the description of this grisly surgery is thor-

RUNAWAY JUDGES PART XXXVIII

The latest news in the "Judges Against Democracy" saga: In November, Hawaiians passed a ballot initiative calling for a state constitutional convention to make prohibitions against same-sex marriage secure from judges who want to establish it by fiat. In late March, the Hawaiian Supreme Court struck the initiative down. Although *yes* votes had clearly outnumbered *no*s, the Court sided with the ACLU and declared that all voters who did not answer that specific question must be counted as voting *no*.

As one Hawaiian put it in the aftermath of the ruling, "To call this judicial tyranny is an understate[illegible]

DRAWING BY KOREN; © 1996 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC.

"I be off in the hood, chillin' with my homeboys, white folks!"

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oughly sanitized: "a doctor delivers the body of the fetus, feet first and sometimes still alive, into the birth canal before collapsing the skull so the head can be drawn through the opening of the uterus." No "sharp point" of scissors "shoved" into baby skulls, no suctioning out of brains, and certainly no "blood," "pain," or "abuse" here.

THIRD GENERATION RADICAL

Ever wonder where radicalism leads in its second, third, and fourth generations? If grandpa was a socialist and mom was a vegetarian atheist, what's left for junior to rebel against?

"Nina Hartley" (her stage name) is a real-life test of just such a question. Her grandfather (a professor) and father (in the media) were both members of the Communist Party, and she was raised as a strict feminist to distrust men.

Today, Nina Hartley is a "sex radical" who makes her living as a performer in strip clubs and as a prominent hard-core porn actress. She lives with two other people in a triangular household (one of them a former member of SDS, the '60s New Left group).

Don't bother wondering about the fourth generation. She doesn't have any children.

PRESCRIPTION FOR HEALTH CARE

Warning that congressional conservatives are about to be outflanked on health care, publisher Steve Forbes urges the GOP to pass measures which would make it easier for employers, unions, and others to offer individual Medical Savings Accounts (MSAs). He points out that despite suffocating government rules that now discourage MSAs from taking off in the private insurance market, 3,000 employers plus the United Mine Workers already offer their employees MSA opportunities, which have proved popular. *Forbes* has offered MSAs to its workers for five years, and "our medical expenses per employee are actually lower than they were in 1990," Forbes reports. Yet "no one has been forced into managed care."

A GLIMPSE INTO DARK HEARTS

Editor's note: The following letter is extremely offensive. Readers who would prefer to avoid graphic and unnatural sexual imagery should skip it. We print this item, with regret, because it addresses an important subject. In much of the discussion of Internet pornography, the problem is but a cool abstraction, and it is easy for opponents of content controls to rail about "puritanical" or "unconstitutional" censoring. This eyewitness account provides another view:

This is Detective Wisher from Florida. I'm e-mailing you a short description of what I have seen tonight. It frankly passes all marks for human perversity, and if you have no desire to glimpse into dark hearts then by all means hit *delete.*

Our department searched a local house in reference to Internet pornography and found a stack of downloaded photos. I was able to see what is floating around out there. It was a stark reminder of how deeply depraved people can be.

Aside from the standard adult combos and occasional photos of a woman with a dog or steer or elephant (which were no shock to this jaded cop), I viewed horrifying photos of young children engaged in sexual acts. Disgusted, repelled, shocked, frightened—these are not sufficient adjectives to describe my reaction.

Very young girls were touching themselves with an innocent, wanting-to-please look on their faces. Preschool-to-pubescent boys and girls were having sex with each other or adult males. In one photo a little blonde girl of no more than five stood watching a porn film on TV while a male off camera violated her. Many of the photographs were of homosexual couplings involving boys and adult males.

I thumbed through the collection, silently trying to grasp the purpose and demand for such images. Suddenly I stopped on a photo that absolutely turned me pale. It was a photo of an adult male's penis jammed into the grimacing mouth of a young baby no more than a year or 18 months old. The look on the baby's face was that of gagging discomfort.

I put the stack of photos down and stared blankly at the far wall, wondering if out there somewhere right now some child is being photographed by some evil man. Standing naked, wondering if she is pleasing this person she trusted. Doing things that somewhere deep inside she knows are wrong—not in the social sense, but in the greater sense of natural laws. I wonder how many buried secrets we police officers never hear about because of shame or fear.

And what is the cost of this vileness? The cost to children's minds, their visions of themselves, their futures? The costs to adults exposed to this wretchedness? Tonight I have seen something that puts the pornography debate in perspective.

And what do we do about this kind of material? At present, very little. These people, when they are caught, never seem to be dealt with in a way that reflects what they have done. I'm not sure our country is capable of doing what is necessary to a man who would have sex with a year-old baby. We are too soft, too unsure of what is right and wrong any more.

A detective on our force who is an expert on pedophilia explained to me that the Internet has opened up vast new worlds to these men. Individuals with similar preferences can be sought out for reinforcement. Photographs and tips on seduction can be exchanged. This networking provides numerous incitements to action that such persons lacked in years past.

Pedophiles often create collections of hundreds of photographs gathered over years of abusing children. The fixation is so complete they often will not destroy their collections even when the police are investigating them.

I tucked my two-year-old daughter under the covers when I got home tonight. I stood over her watching her sleep peacefully, and wondered about the extent of the judgment awaiting mankind. I actually envisioned an anger that could rain fire down from the heavens.

I count myself lucky every day that I am not asked to interview child molesters and perverts. I lack the detachment needed. I have dark visions of taped transcripts that would end: "So you admit to having sex with little girls and boys, then taking photos for your friends. Okay, BANG! This statement is concluded. Somebody call the medical examiner." This stuff depraves everyone who comes in contact with it, including me.

—Raymond Wisher is a police detective working in Florida.

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By Karl Zinsmeister

Indicators

REVIEWING YOUR TAXES

With American workers having just passed through another tax season, this is an appropriate occasion to look at the big picture on taxes.

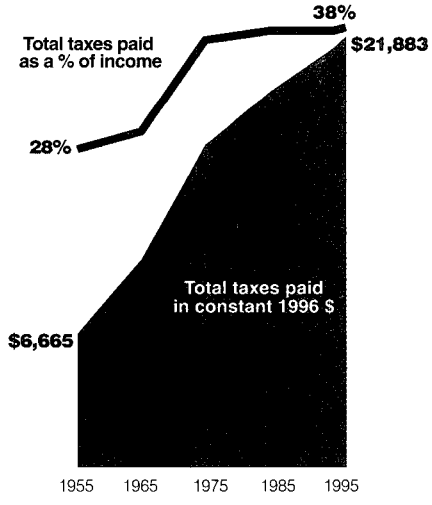
The Tax Foundation reports that total tax collections reached a record $2.3 trillion in 1996. That means **federal, state, and local levies on income, payroll, sales, and property extracted an average of $8,782 for every man, woman, and child in the country.**

Payroll taxes (collected in the name of Social Security and Medicare) bear heavily on all workers, and now add up to more than the total income tax bill for ordinary workers. Property taxes are a particular burden on homeowners and land-dependent businesses. Sales taxes and taxes on businesses are paid by all consumers; they accumulate quietly but currently add up to one-quarter of all taxes collected.

Income taxes act as disincentives to work, savings, and investment, because they rise sharply as you become more successful. Most Americans have no idea how unequally the income tax load is distributed. (Not surprising, given the steady media drumbeat about "tax breaks for the rich.") These are the facts: **In 1994, the top one percent of American earners paid fully 29 percent of our income taxes. The top ten percent paid 59 percent of all collections. Meanwhile, the bottom *half* of the population, paid less than five percent of our income taxes.**

It's often said that death and taxes are constants in life, which is true enough. What often goes unmentioned is that **taxes now intrude on our lives much more** than they did in the recent past. The graph below depicts how the total tax burden on typical American families has changed in just one generation.

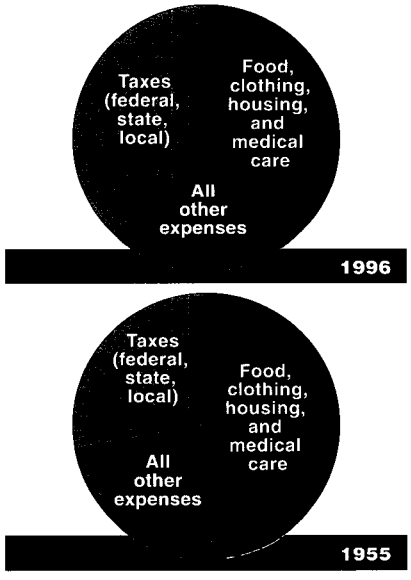
Taxes Paid by the Median Two-Earner Family



Source: Tax Foundation.

The next chart, below, shows that **a typical family now pays as much in taxes as it does for food, clothing, housing, and medical care *combined.***

Annual Expenses of Median Income Two-Earner Families



Source: Editor's calculations from Tax Foundation data.

PARENTS VOTE WITH THEIR FEET

A study released by the National Home Education Research Institute—reporting that **there are 1.2 million American children currently being schooled at home**—garnered a fair amount of media attention in March.

Less noticed was a March *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll which found that fully six percent of all U.S. parents have schooled their kids at home at some point or another. That suggests **between two and three million youngsters nationally have had recent experience with home schooling.**

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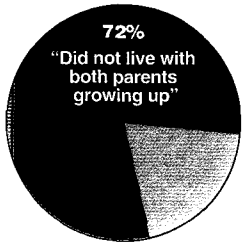
'60s IDEAS HAVE '90s CONSEQUENCES

Radical new ideas about desirable behavior took root in the 1960s. These shifts set off harmful trends still being felt today.

"Divorce, illegitimacy, and female-headed households are not necessarily dysfunctional except in the context of Western, middle-class, white values."

—Academic Robert Staples, criticizing the Moynihan Report, 1965

Youths in U.S. Criminal Reform Institutions Today

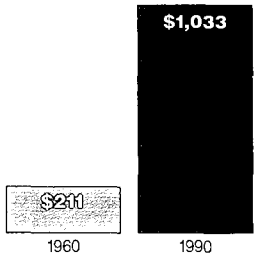


Source: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics.

"We are going to take all of the money that we think is unnecessarily being spent and take it from the 'haves' and give it to the 'have nots' that need it so much."

—President Lyndon Johnson, Los Angeles Times, *3/3/65*

Annual Government Spending on "Great Society"-type Programs
(billions of constant 1990 dollars)



Note: Represents total spending on welfare, social insurance, medical care, education, and public housing.
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census; Tax Foundation.

"For two strong 18–year–old hoodlums...to beat in the brains of a candy-store keeper...courage of a sort is necessary, for one murders not only a weak 50–year–old man but an institution as well, one violates private property, one enters into a new relation with the police and introduces a dangerous element into one's life. The hoodlum is therefore daring the unknown, and so no matter how brutal the act, it is not altogether cowardly."

—Norman Mailer, "The White Negro," 1959

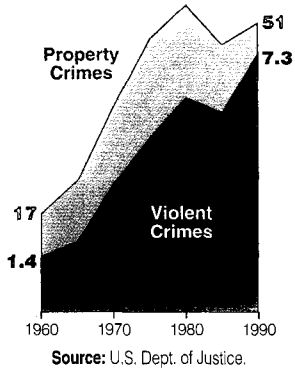
"If you are afraid of being murdered, there is more safety in deserting your family...than in additional police."

—U.S. Attorney General (1967–69) Ramsey Clark

"The future of our movement is the future of crime in the streets."

—Popular left-wing slogan, late 1960s

Annual Crimes
(per 1000 Americans)



Source: U.S. Dept. of Justice.

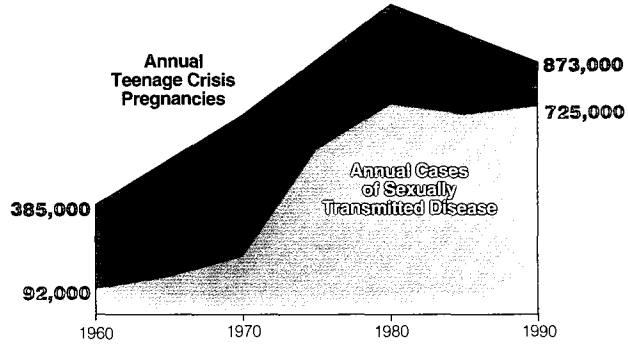
"Health, luck, and affection are the only requirements for good sex.... Sexual expression should be approved in and out of season, also in school, and where necessary made the subject of instruction."

—Paul Goodman, Compulsory Miseducation, *1964*

"In our new society...all forms of sexuality would be allowed and indulged."

—Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution, *1970*

Casualties of the Sexual Revolution

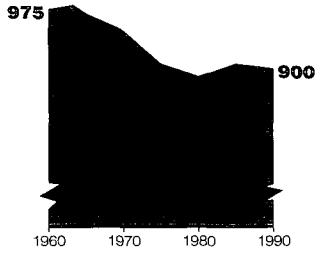


Note: "Crisis Pregnancy" defined as one that ends in abortion or birth out of wedlock.
Source: Editor's calculations from data collected by U.S. National Center for Health Statistics and the Alan Guttmacher Institute.

"The classroom is an authoritarian environment.... Our generation is in rebellion against abstract intellectualism and critical thinking. We admire the Viet Cong guerrilla, the Black Panther, the stoned hippie, not the abstract intellectual."

—Yippie Jerry Rubin, Do It!, *1969*

Average SAT Scores
(verbal and math combined)



Source: College Entrance Examination Board.

"If you take...life seriously, if you take your nervous system seriously, if you take your sense organs seriously...you must turn on, tune in, and drop out."

—Drug guru Timothy Leary, 1966, in The Politics of Ecstasy

Deaths Directly Related to Drug Use, 1992

Overdoses	11,700
I.V.-drug-related AIDS deaths	11,200
Drug-related homicides	4,000
Suicides and accidents	4,500
Single year total	**31,400**

Sources: Editor's calculations from data collected by U.S. National Center for Health Statistics; Federal Bureau of Investigation; various epidemiological studies.

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two Views

A LIBERAL AND A CONSERVATIVE FIND PRECURSORS TO THE AGE OF AQUARIUS IN THE EISENHOWER ERA

How Did the '50s Ever Beget the '60s?

E.J. Dionne

Nostalgia for the 1950s looms large in American politics, crossing partisan and philosophical lines. The Right yearns for the stability, order, and authority ascribed to that decade. The Left recalls the period as a time of equitably distributed economic growth, strong labor unions, and some semblance of loyalty between employer and employee.

So how could the stability of the 1950s give way to the uproar of the 1960s? Because the '50s were not nearly as stable as they looked. The '60s could be seen as the working out (not always successfully) of the many tensions the 1950s embodied: in family life, on racial matters, in politics, and in the culture.

THE BLAND, CONSENSUAL POLITICS OF THE '50S WAS BOUND TO PRODUCE REVOLT EVENTUALLY.

In *Women and the Common Life*, Christopher Lasch flatly declares that the family "where the husband goes out to work and the wife stays home...was a mid-twentieth-century innovation." Previously, less affluent women had always had to work, and more affluent women played active, if often unpaid, public roles. Betty Friedan's powerful feminist polemic, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), could be seen as a rational response to "the plight of suburban women" cut off from involvement in the public sphere. Something had to give in the organization of women's roles, and the result was the rise of feminism. The country's huge commitment in the '50s to the education of both men and women also fed feminism. It was absurd to pretend that large numbers of educated women would choose to remain disengaged from public life.

The civil rights movement also grew naturally out of the 1950s. During World War II, the country had called upon African Americans for both military and industrial service. Once discriminatory barriers were breached, it was impossible to sustain segregation. As JFK put it in his 1963 civil rights message to Congress, "No one has been barred on account of his race from fighting or dying for America—there are no 'white' or 'colored' signs on the

Allan Carlson

The period 1946-62 was marked by unusual signs of social renewal. After a steady, century-long deterioration in measures of the health of the American family, a remarkable recovery occurred: The marriage rate climbed; the divorce rate fell; and the birth rate soared. Most astonishingly, college-educated women were in the vanguard of this change, with their birth rates more than doubling.

During these same years, Americans became again a property-holding people, with the proportion of households in owner-occupied homes climbing by half, to 60 percent, a growth concentrated in booming suburbia. While per-capita consumption rose briskly, Americans contrived to channel it into family-centered purchases such as home appliances and station wagons, avoiding more extreme displays of materialism. America's informal "family wage" system—which in practice delivered one principal wage per family—enjoyed popular support and grew in significance. Not coincidentally, income inequality between households diminished, along with racial inequality, as the economic inefficiencies of segregation eroded the old barriers.

Signs of religious commitment by Americans also climbed in the 1950s. Weekly attendance at church or synagogue approached half of the whole populace, an historic high.

In the '60s all was different. The old social pathologies came roaring back, with the divorce rate more than doubling, the rate of first marriage falling, and birth rates collapsing. This broad retreat from marriage and children was particularly pronounced among the college educated. Consumption patterns became more extreme, and income inequality began to climb again. Attendance at religious services plummeted. A broad feeling of conformity gave way to a celebration of the abnormal. Ideologies long dormant in America (e.g., feminism, militant atheism, Malthusianism, and sexual libertarianism) combined with novel challenges such as the New Left and the counterculture in a broad assault on the existing order. They found a common enemy in "the American family."

But it is too simplistic to blame the social disasters of the '60s on these ideologies alone. Indeed, they might be viewed as more symptoms than cause. The problems of America in the 1960s and '70s derived just as much from the frailty of the family renewal in the '50s.

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Dionne continued

foxholes or graveyards of battle." Add to this the exigencies of the Cold War, surely the dominating fact of the '50s. It was difficult for the U.S. to appeal for third world support against the Soviet Union if it maintained a discriminatory color line at home.

The bland, consensual politics of the '50s was bound to produce revolt eventually—and it did, on both the left and right. Looking back, the criticisms that William F. Buckley's Young Americans for Freedom and the New Left directed at the Eisenhower era were remarkably similar. The Right attacked the "Liberal Establishment" on the grounds it was liberal. The Left attacked "Establishment Liberals" on the grounds that liberals were the Establishment. I admire Eisenhower and the achievements of the New Deal's political consensus and cultural moderation. But there was a certain arrogance within the '50s consensus that was bound to be challenged.

The revolt against conformity in the '50s also took nonpolitical forms, in William Whyte's protest against the *Organization Man,* in David Riesman's *Lonely Crowd,* and in the Beat movement. Jack Kerouac's novels revealed that something was brewing. "The only ones for me are the mad ones," Kerouac wrote in *On the Road*, published in 1957, "the ones who are mad to live, mad to talk, mad to be saved, delirious of everything at the same time, the ones who never yawn or say a commonplace thing but burn, burn, burn like fabulous yellow roman candles." The sense that there was something empty in the larger culture fed the restlessness that Kerouac spoke for, and led to the counterculture of the 1960s.

It's impossible to talk about the 1960s without talking about the Vietnam War. That war, as both supporters and critics asserted, was rooted in the '50s view that the United States would "pay any price, bear any burden," as Kennedy put it, to oppose the expansion of communism. The divisions Vietnam created did as much as anything to shape the 1960s. They turned a decade that began in hope into a time of bitterness. As Todd Gitlin has shown, the war transformed the New Left itself. A movement that was, in its origins, critically but profoundly American became increasingly estranged from—and in many cases hostile to—its own country. To imagine the 1960s without the Vietnam War is to imagine a decade in which we might have done better at resolving the tensions of the 1950s.

Within the nostalgia for the '50s are certain yearnings to which we should be attentive. The things we miss—or, perhaps, think we miss—are family stability, a sense of community, a bit more order (as in a lower crime rate), rapid economic growth, and a rough economic equity that helped build the American middle class. Those are worthy things to hope for. But they will not come to pass if we pretend that the '50s were a time of perfection. They weren't. That's why so many people, on the right and left, revolted in the next decade. We have to take it from there, accepting that despite some wrong turns and some large mistakes, many things happened in the '60s that were good for our country and our culture.

E.J. Dionne, Jr., a Washington Post *columnist and a fellow at the Brookings Institution, is the author of* They Only Look Dead: Why Progressives Will Dominate the Next Political Era.

Carlson continued

For the burgeoning American suburban model failed to resolve the central "family problem" of industrial civilization: the divorce of work from home. Since the early nineteenth century, the new factory system had torn adult men and women from their farm homes and craftsmen's shops—a change that philosopher Karl Polanyi correctly labeled "the great transformation," and a principal source of family deterioration. Sustained family renewal could only come if this breach were at least partially healed. But suburban homes merely exaggerated the divorce. Facing longer commutes, fathers tended to be even more separated from home, and the absent dad became a common memory among the children of the baby boom. Mothers, meanwhile, found themselves in an exaggerated isolation, ensconced in ill-formed neighborhoods lacking any natural or historic bonds. Recruits for the various "liberations" of the 1960s would come from the adults and the children in these very suburbs.

THE '50S MIGHT BE SEEN AS A HOUSE OF CARDS: IMPRESSIVE ON THE SURFACE, BUT FRAGILE WITHIN.

The conformity of the 1950s also had unstable origins. In *The Noise of Solemn Assemblies*, sociologist Peter Berger showed that the mid-century rise in American church attendance had little to do with real conversion or authentic religious devotion. Rather, he described church membership in the '50s as simply another step in constructing the "O.K. World" of the suburban middle class.

Conformity also derived from the fact that over half of American males who came to adulthood in the 1940s and '50s were military veterans, men shaped by a common training in obedience and regimentation. This unprecedented development in American history was a consequence of the new national security state, a product in turn of the Cold War. As the ethos of uniformity and obedience passed into the civilian ethos of the 1950s, the military man was transformed into "the corporate man" or "the organization man" of postwar managerial life. Yet this also put "the silent majority" on a collision course with more deeply rooted aspects of the American character: individuality, eccentricity, kinship, autonomy. The central tragedy of the '60s, perhaps, lies in the capture and distortion of these authentic American traits by the political and cultural Left.

The '50s, then, might be seen as a house of cards: impressive on the surface, but fragile within. Sustained social renewal would have required the return of real functions to the institutional family, and the development of true communities based on natural human loyalties. For all its statistical luster, the Age of Eisenhower produced neither.

Allan Carlson, an historian by training, is president of the Rockford Institute.

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"Live" with TAE

TWO MEN WHO REPRESENT DIFFERENT GENERATIONS AND DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT FIND THEY HAVE A LOT IN COMMON.

Robert Bork & P.J. O'Rourke

If you'd asked P.J. O'Rourke in 1967 where he'd be three decades later, he probably wouldn't have guessed the truth: wearing a wedding ring and a gray suit, and chatting with a fierce right-wing hero. Once a hippie journalist, O'Rourke has in recent years become a famous right-wing humorist, with his work appearing in Rolling Stone *and elsewhere before selling briskly between hard covers.*

Robert Bork has changed less since the '60s, when he was a Yale Law School professor, though his life too has seen tumult: He served as solicitor general under Richard Nixon, was elevated to the Federal Court of Appeals, and then underwent a bruising, unsuccessful nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court, opposed by many who earned their spurs as '60s activists. These difficult battles have, however, engendered two best-selling books.

In the minds of many, these two men are champions of clashing conservative camps—O'Rourke the incarnation of free-wheeling libertarianism and Bork the grumpy old moralist. Yet P.J., a former "long-haired peace creep," and Bork, a former Marine, discovered they share an appreciation of armed self-defense, free markets, and the judge's latest jeremiad, Slouching Towards Gomorrah. *They were interviewed by* TAE *editor Scott Walter with the aid of Scotch that was, as O'Rourke said fondly, "older than the White House staff." The conversation—and the Scotch—flowed long after the tape ran out.*

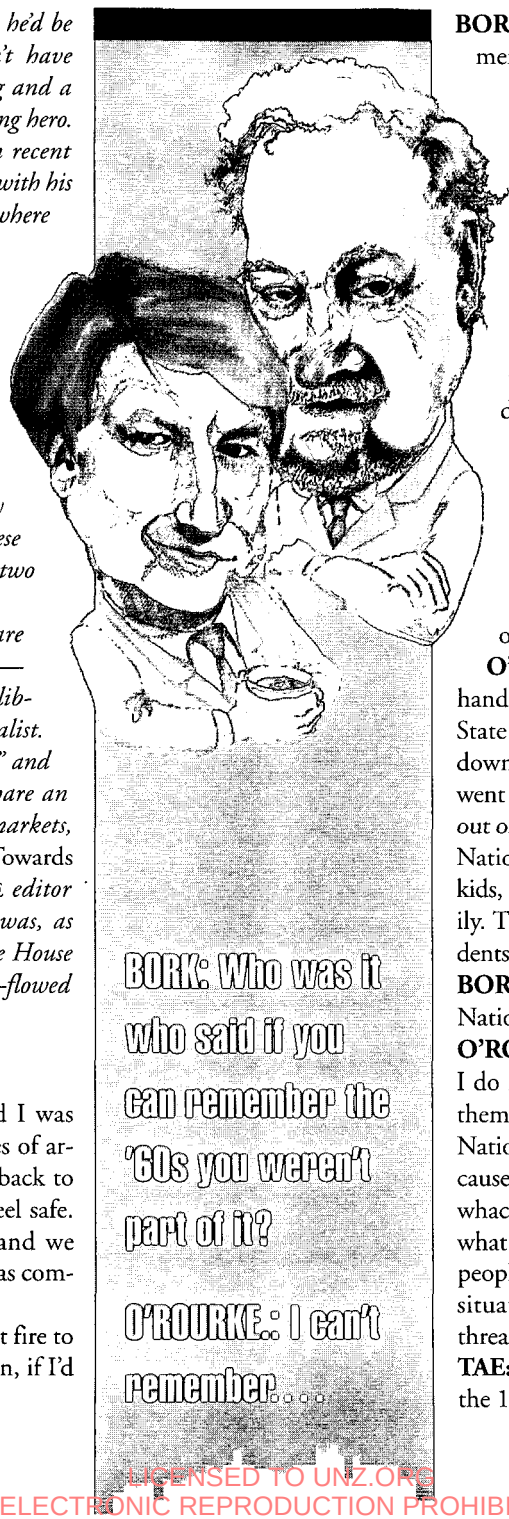

Illustration by Lucinda S. Levine

TAE: What were you doing in the '60s?

BORK: I was teaching law at Yale, and I was mostly terrified. There were three episodes of arson in the law school, and you didn't go back to your office at night, because you didn't feel safe. But then the '60s slowly disappeared, and we thought it was gone. We didn't realize it was coming back in the late '80s and '90s.

O'ROURKE: I was over there trying to set fire to the law school. I certainly would have been, if I'd been able to get the Zippo to work.

BORK: Who was it who said that if you can remember the '60s, you weren't part of it?

O'ROURKE: I can't remember.... I was more typical than your students at Yale. I was at a state school, Miami of Ohio, and was a completely middle-class kid. On both East and West Coasts, there was an element of elitist rebellion. In the Midwest, rebellion was more stylistic. Most of us were doing this largely to get laid. The girls would be terribly impressed by how we almost threatened the police and maybe broke a window. Then we'd all get tear-gassed, run back to the crash pad, and say to the girls, "We must preserve resources, Sunshine. We're going to have to double up in the shower." Of course, no Panthers visited Miami of Ohio.

BORK: Kent State was also middle class, but the disturbances there were more serious than what you're describing at Miami.

O'ROURKE: The whole thing just got out of hand. The kids shot themselves, in a sense. Kent State was a lower-middle-class school, pretty far down the food chain. My high school girlfriend went there. A lot of the boys were there just to stay out of the draft. This is exactly what the guys in the National Guard were doing. They were the same kids, from the same background, same sort of family. The National Guard wasn't trained. The students at Kent weren't really serious about rioting.

BORK: They were rioting pretty bad before the National Guard showed up.

O'ROURKE: They set the ROTC building on fire. I do not blame the National Guard for shooting them. I do think the State Police rather than the National Guard should have been brought in because they had riot training, and they would have whacked the kids over the head, which is precisely what was needed in that situation. You can't put people in military gear, with military training, in a situation like that, where they feel their life is threatened, and not have military results.

TAE: How have you changed your thinking since the 1960s?

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BORK: I was a libertarian in those days. I'm considerably less libertarian, considerably more Tory than I was back then. Same disdain for those student radicals. In fact "disdain" may not be strong enough a word. Bill and Hillary were two of my students at Yale.

O'ROURKE: You remember them?

BORK: No. I don't think Bill came to class much. He was working on P.J.'s version of the '60s.

O'ROURKE: I am ashamed of how my generation acted in the 1960s, and the only reason that I am not more angry at myself and my friends is because we were so very young. I'm still puzzling over why we lost our moorings. I'd say it was money. We acted that way because we could afford to. It was the first time in the history of the world that anything like this size of a generation had been anything like that rich, and it was a shock to everybody's system. There's nothing we did that Lord Byron wouldn't have done if he'd had a good stereo.

You have this convergence: an extremely unpopular and possibly unwise war, and birth control. The sudden idea that nothing had any consequences. There's that Philip Larkin poem—sexual intercourse was invented in 1963. And the drugs went everywhere in a year.

BORK: I'm not so sure about the war in Vietnam being the source of the breakdown, because the same eruption took place in France, Germany, and Italy, which had no connection with the war in Vietnam. I'm not sure the personal inconvenience, or worse, of being drafted, made a big difference. I'm not so sure that the announced immorality of the war was anything more than a cover.

O'ROURKE: What frightened me was not going to Vietnam. What frightened me was going in the Army. The haircut, the uniform, the discipline: If I'd been allowed to go to Vietnam in my old clothes.... The minute the draft disappeared, the whole hippie-dippy thing just went up in smoke.

TAE: How about the Bork generation? You were the parents of the P.J.'s.

BORK: That generation wanted to pamper their offspring. They felt they had had rough lives, and they were going to see that their children led very good lives. The pampering had disastrous effects.

[redacted]

Like many men of my generation, I had an opportunity to give war a chance, and I promptly chickened out. I went to my draft physical in 1970 with a doctor's letter about my history of drug abuse. The letter was four and a half pages long with three and a half pages devoted to listing the drugs I'd abused. I was shunted into the office of an Army psychiatrist who, at the end of a 45-minute interview with me, was pounding his desk and shouting, "You're f***ed up! You don't belong in the Army!" He was certainly right on the first count and possibly right on the second. Anyway, I didn't have to go. But that, of course, meant someone else had to go in my place. I would like to dedicate this book to him. I hope you got back in one piece, fellow. I hope you were more use to your platoon mates than I would have been. I hope you're rich and happy now. And in 1971, when somebody punched me in the face for being a long-haired peace creep, I hope that was you.

— *P.J. O'Rourke in* Give War A Chance

[redacted]

O'ROURKE: Our parents had learned some wrong lessons from the '20s, '30s, and '40s. They learned to love government too well. They learned that government was what rescued you from depression and war. Our parents were very trusting of large governmental institutions. The liberalism that was a seed of the radicalism to come was in our parents, even when our parents were Republicans. They had taken large government for granted.

TAE: Perhaps the government was also putting too many people into college.

BORK: The G.I. Bill changed the nature of universities forever. I went through college on the first G.I. Bill. Then I went through law school under the second version of the G.I. Bill. So to me, it was a very munificent policy. But by expanding, enormously, the sizes of universities and faculties, they changed the nature of universities, and created a separate culture, a politicized culture, a left-wing culture. I see no hope of the universities coming back. And I suppose the G.I. Bill had a great deal to do with that.

TAE: The two of you represent two generations of conservative thinking, and to some extent different branches of contemporary conservative thought—with the judge being more of a traditionalist and P.J. more of a libertarian. How about a little free association to see how your ideas overlap? Let's start with Madonna.

O'ROURKE: *The* Madonna?

TAE: No, the one who just had a baby.

O'ROURKE: Coming from a lower-middle-class, Midwestern background, in one way I do like Madonna. There were hundreds of those girls in my high school, trashy girls, all of them now living in double-wide trailers, if they're lucky, weighing 300 pounds, and with five or six kids by five or six different fathers. It's nice that one of them made it to the top.

TAE: Ronald Reagan?

BORK: Some of my friends have unmixed adulation for Ronald Reagan. I really don't. Ronald Reagan had one and a half good ideas. One was to re-arm, and one was to cut taxes. But he didn't pay any attention to cutting spending, which

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meant that now the tax cuts get blamed for the deficit that was caused by the spending boom.

After that, you get George Bush, a fairly feckless, feeble leader. Conservatism doesn't depend upon charismatic leaders: What we need are some mundane leaders who understand what conservatism is about.

TAE: Bill Clinton?

BORK: I have a hard time discussing Clinton without getting a nasty edge on, because I really despise the man, both in his private life and his public life.

TAE: What do you dislike the most?

BORK: It's hard to say. He's world class in all areas. He's the hedonistic side of the '60s. His wife is the ideological side of the '60s. She looks to politics as a way of finding meaning in life, which is not a very safe kind of a person to be.

O'ROURKE: It's easier to forgive her than him. In the first place, she's been married to him for a long time. That in itself is punishment enough.

I did a review of Hillary's *It Takes a Village*, and I actually read that whole book pretty carefully. I felt I was in the presence of a very silly woman, somebody who probably did very well in school because she always did exactly what the assignment was. I'm sure she's good at memorizing things.

BORK: I wish she'd stop talking about how her unpopularity is due to the fact that Americans are not ready for a strong woman.

O'ROURKE: Nonsense. We all had mothers, just for starters. America is not ready for a strong woman who's wrong about everything.

Bill Clinton is one year older than I am. I see him as a kid. He's the fat kid who played tuba in the school band and told on you for smoking in the boy's room. He was hanging out down at the career counselor's office every day, looking to sign up for extracurricular activities to make himself look well-rounded. He's a spoiled mama's boy. I think Mom would probably have been kind of fun after 11:00 in the evening—if you'd like to go catfishing with her.

TAE: Louis Farrakhan?

O'ROURKE: Because most Jews have moved into the upper-middle-class and are no longer within the experience of inner-city blacks, my prediction is that poor Indians and Pakistanis and Lebanese and Koreans—the people who now make the retail operations and the small service operations work in the inner cities—will be his next big target.

BORK: Except I'm not entirely clear that Farrakhan is that rational. He may just have an obsession about Jews.

O'ROURKE: The extent to which he's evil and the extent to which he's crazy is unclear. Like I care!

TAE: What about his emphasis on self-discipline, religiosity, self-respect.

BORK: I don't know what good the emphasis on self-discipline is if you also keep telling people that their troubles are somebody else's fault.

O'ROURKE: And what's the point of religion when it was just made up 15 minutes ago? It's absolute nonsense. Real Muslims in the United States are upset about his theology, because it's just garbage. As a Christian, I might have certain debates with the Muslim religion, but the Islamic world is as little color conscious as any place that I've ever been.

TAE: Since you are supposedly the "grumpy old man," Judge, what do you do for fun?

BORK: Read.

TAE: And martinis?

BORK: Oh, true. But in the evenings I like a good mystery story.

TAE: And you, on the other hand, are the clown, so let me ask what makes you cry?

O'ROURKE: What makes me furious is more to the point. What makes me really grumpy is reading the newspaper. I get pretty grumpy when I read the *Washington Times*. Then I switch over to the *Washington Post* and get really angry.

TAE: Judge Bork, you have a new book, *Slouching Towards Gomorrah*, that some critics criticize as puritanical or censorious. How about a bit of devil's advocacy? Does it seem silly to you that back in the 1950s, on television, husband and wife had to be shown in separate beds?

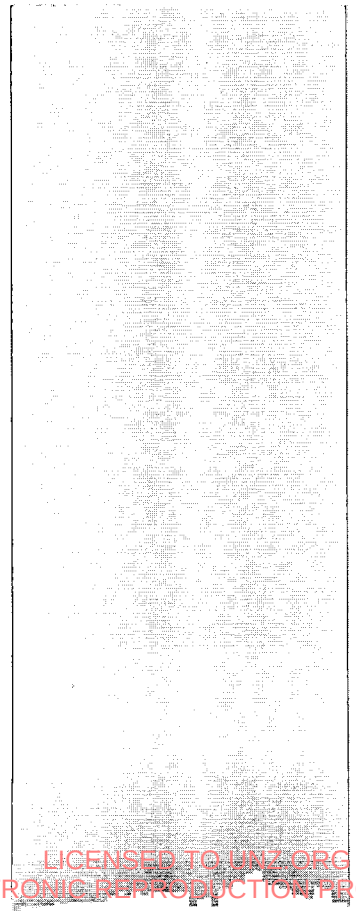
BORK: Silly, but better than what we have now.

TAE: What do you think of proposals to make it harder to divorce?

BORK: That's a very good idea. Because right

One 1960s morning on my way to teach a class at the Yale Law School, I found on the sidewalk outside the building heaps of smoldering books that had been burned in the law library. They were a small symbol of what was happening on campuses across the nation: violence, destruction of property, mindless hatred of law, authority, and tradition. I stood there, uncomprehending, as a photograph in the next day's *New York Times* clearly showed. What did they want, these students? What conceivable goals led them to this and to the general havoc they were wreaking on the university? In the '60s, my faculty colleagues and I had no understanding of what it was about, where it came from, or how long the misery would last. It was only much later that a degree of understanding came.

— *Robert Bork in* Slouching Toward Gomorrah



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now, under no-fault divorce, you're not really married. When one of the parties, usually the husband, thinks he can do better elsewhere, or that he'd like to start over with a younger woman, he just leaves. Divorce should be made harder unless we want to see more female poverty and children raised in poverty, because that is what happens to divorced women and their progeny.

TAE: If we go back to traditional families, will women simply be stuck at home with the kids?

BORK: Just because divorce isn't easy doesn't mean they have to stay home rather than work. Are we going to go back to barefoot women pregnant all the time and staying in the kitchen? I don't know anybody who wants that, but some liberals caricature traditional views in that way.

TAE: Quite recently, there were more mothers at home with their kids and not working so much.

BORK: It was probably better for the kids. We're going to have shortly the first generation of children where most did not have mothers at home, and we'll see what it's like. I suspect we're not going to be too happy with the results. The idea that it demeans women to stay at home is crazy.

O'ROURKE: It's an evil idea.

BORK: Women have always been the carriers of morality and the shapers of the next generation, which seems to me to be far more important than working 60 hours a week in a law firm. But if you're going to encourage women to be attentive mothers, then you have to make divorce more difficult so they aren't at constant risk of being left destitute.

TAE: P.J., what about the devil's advocate arguments against libertarianism?

O'ROURKE: A libertarian is a conservative with an acknowledged vice, like, say, a teenage girlfriend.

TAE: Libertarians often talk about the state versus the individual. Does this slight all of the intermediate institutions like church, neighborhood, employer?

O'ROURKE: It's true libertarians spend a lot of time talking about the state versus the individual. But I don't think it's true that libertarians slight the intermediate institutions. The bulk of our life should be conducted in voluntary organizations. And a voluntary organization can have very strong powers of shame, praise, economic penalty, economic reward.

The reason that the state/individual relationship is concentrated upon is that the state has a monopoly on coercive force. Only the state is allowed to kill you. In the twentieth century, of the half billion or so people who have been killed outside of war, almost all have been killed by the state. Maybe 30 people have been killed by intermediate organizations. Labor unions got a couple. John Gotti got a couple. But basically it's the state that endangers people.

Bill Clinton is the hedonistic side of the '60s. His wife is the ideological side of the '60s. She looks to politics as a way of finding meaning in life, which is not a very safe kind of a person to be.

—Robert Bork

TAE: What if, let's say, citizens in Utah want to restrict certain individual activities, would libertarians say no, you can't do that?

O'ROURKE: Say, for instance, that Utah wanted to pass laws against public expression of homosexual affection or selling Coca-Cola. I'm basically in favor of allowing local areas to pass the laws that they think are good and just as long as those laws do not clearly violate the Constitution. They may be very stupid laws and if they are, the locality that passes them will feel the effect. They lose business, lose quality of life, crime increases, and so on, because of the silly laws that they've passed.

BORK: Even if they don't feel the effect, that's a great advantage of federalism. Unlike the national government, you can get away from an oppressive local government. In Salt Lake City, I've had a lot of fun trying to get a martini. The last time I was there they announced they were not allowed to mix it, but they brought the ice, the vermouth, the gin, and everything else over to the table. I had to make my own. They do pass silly laws. It's their right. I didn't feel oppressed.

TAE: Are libertarians suspicious of religion?

O'ROURKE: Dr. Johnson said, by all means have a man who doesn't believe in God over to dinner, but count the spoons when he leaves. Most libertarians I know do take religion quite seriously. You have to. As Judge Bork pointed out in his book, you can construct an ethical philosophy of life without believing in God. But it is like reinventing the wheel.

TAE: Is there a chance that a free-market economy does such a terrific job of creating comfort and ease that over time it ends up producing very soft citizens, too weak even to be good capitalists?

O'ROURKE: I cannot argue against affluence. Historically, the strongest and healthiest countries have been rich, not poor.

A core problem of libertarianism is that it sometimes looks to markets for more than markets really can provide. Markets are marvelous tools. But if we look to markets to provide us with things that are not marketable—thought, morality, direction, meaning—we will be sorely disappointed.

BORK: The trouble with many libertarians and free-market economists is that they are so enraptured with the fact that the free market satisfies wants efficiently that they can't imagine that not everything should be on the market. They talk about legalizing drugs, about not worrying about the most godawful forms of entertainment, be-

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cause if you don't like it you can turn it off. But if your neighbor doesn't turn it off, that may affect you very badly. They forget that there are some wants that it is not moral to satisfy.

O'ROURKE: The market is such a wonderful tool—it's like they just discovered the electric drill and now they want to use it for everything. They want to use it in the bath, they want to use it to wash the dishes. But if we need to limit freedom, the burden of proof always has to be on the limiter. The prejudice always has to be in favor of freedoms.

BORK: But there are many activities that societies have always condemned, and only today are people saying those things should be freely allowed. In those cases, the burden of proof should be on the person who's claiming this unique freedom.

O'ROURKE: Drugs, for example?

BORK: Sure. Or pornography. Every society has had some form of censorship. Advocates of same-sex marriage should also bear the burden of proof.

O'ROURKE: Yes, although I don't mind the burden of proof on that one: Marriage is a privileged condition. You take two people and treat them as one soul and one economic unit. Society gives the partners all sorts of benefits. Why does society do this? Because the family is the core of civilization. Why would we do this for two people who cannot possibly produce a family?

BORK: You're right, of course, but lesbians are now doing that with artificial insemination.

O'ROURKE: If you want to have a lesbian family, I do not want to subsidize this with my tax dollars or legal approval. We don't have to ban this, but I don't have to laud it.

BORK: I certainly wouldn't put lesbians in jail for being lesbians. But I would prohibit them from adopting children.

TAE: Is the economy overregulated?

BORK: Yes, I'm afraid that regulations like the Americans with Disabilities Act are taking away human freedom and dampening the economy.

TAE: How about gun control?

BORK: Where guns are available, criminals are less likely to become violent or to break into houses because they don't know what they're going to face. If you ban all guns, only the law-abiding will turn them in, and you accomplish nothing except to disarm good citizens.

O'ROURKE: Any society has a right to regulate armed force. I have no objection, in theory, to registering guns. I *want* people to know I have guns. I once spoke to a group and an Englishwoman said, "What luck do you think a group of uneducated rednecks would have defending themselves against the government with all of its guns and its planes and tanks?" And I said, "Well, there's Ireland to be considered. It took us a while, but we did win."

TAE: More and more people think we shouldn't defend ourselves. That's a job for professionals.

BORK: Maybe we are feminizing society.

O'ROURKE: Feminized might be the wrong word. People are not acting like women; people are acting like dependent children. After all, we know that women can be quite fierce.

BORK: I've noticed.

O'ROURKE: Women in guerrilla armies are famous for cruelty. It was American Indian women who did the torturing.

TAE: Are women in the military a problem?

BORK: Women in combat will increase casualties of both men and women. Good men will always try to protect women and that means their combat assignments are going to be neglected. They understand what happens to women who are captured. The services understand this, but they are so beaten down by the Pat Schroeders that they have set up camps in which men are required to listen to the screams of women being raped and tortured—simulated, I assume—on the theory that they must become insensitive to this in order to maintain their effectiveness if female colleagues are captured. How can you be training men to be sensitive to women—so there will be no Tailhook incidents—and also insensitive to women being raped and tortured?

On topic after topic, liberals have an unrealistic view of human nature. They think if you take away guns, nobody will get hurt. Women must be in the military because they're entitled to equality, no matter what it does to the military, and on and on.

O'ROURKE: One of the great contributions of your book is pointing out the danger of pursuing freedom and equality as ends in themselves. I hadn't thought that much about it before.

BORK: Thank you, satisfied reader.

TAE: Should we be gloomy or optimistic today?

BORK: I'm not gloomy. We *are* in a lot of trouble. And I'm not happy about that. On the other hand, I don't walk around with a little cloud over my head. We should be happy but recognize that human nature has a dark side as well as a good side. Liberals tend to think that people are all good, or at least would be if we could pass the right law.

O'ROURKE: Civilization has always hung by a thread. The great bulk of human history is not the history of civilization, it's the history of barbarism.

BORK: George Bernard Shaw is said to have quipped that Rome fell, Babylon fell, Scarsdale's time will come. You can live well, and maybe the rest of society will turn itself around. And maybe it won't.

There's nothing we did in the '60s that Lord Byron wouldn't have done if he'd had a good stereo.

—P.J. O'Rourke

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SCENES FROM THE '60s

ONE RADICAL'S STORY

David Horowitz, who grew up in New York City as the son of two lifelong Communists, was a founding member of the New Left. During the 1960s he was a prominent editor of *Ramparts*, the leading radical journal. In his memoir *Radical Son*, just published by The Free Press, Horowitz provides a stark record of radical life in the '60s. Following are some first-hand snapshots from his book. They depict the Black Panthers, Tom Hayden, the Weathermen, the sex and drug revolutions, and other aspects of the '60s "Movement" as they really were.

BY DAVID HOROWITZ

Berkeley's New World

As a grad student, I had been active in the New Left that was forming at Berkeley in the late '50s and early '60s, but I moved my family to Europe in 1962. When we returned to Berkeley in January 1968, the change was everywhere evident. Peace symbols and crystal pendants had become the emblems of religious conviction. Clothes were tie-dyed and bucolic, colors psychedelic, and hair long. To liberate themselves from the old sexual order, women were going bra-less, a protest whose immediate effect was to raise the libidinal pulses of everyday life. At the south end of campus, hippie craftsmen had transformed Telegraph Avenue into a street fair, where musicians and jugglers "doing their thing" attracted crowds for the tradesmen. It all had the air of a medieval pastoral, like the Forest of Arden in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, where there were no menacing creatures, or hungers that could not be satisfied.

When I took my son Jonathan to hear a band called Purple Earthquake, I had my first encounter with electric instruments in a live setting. Booming through huge amplified speakers, the sound produced an effect something like entering a new dimension. I looked around at the dreamy faces of the audience. They were wearing the insignias and uniforms of the new counterculture that had blossomed while we were gone, and I experienced an unmistakable, strong kinship with them: *A new world is possible.*

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☐ Rioting at the '68 Democratic Convention

As principal architect of the Port Huron Statement in 1962, Tom Hayden had helped launch Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which soon became the largest student organization of the New Left. When he called for a demonstration at the 1968 Democratic national convention to protest the Vietnam War, everybody knew it meant a confrontation with the Chicago police that could prove bloody. *Ramparts* editor-in-chief Warren Hinckle decided to participate by publishing a "wall paper," as Mao's Red Guards had done during the cultural revolution in China.

During the riots that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King, Chicago's Mayor Daley had recently ordered his police to shoot looters. A radical street protest would put people's lives at risk. Because of such considerations, Hayden's plans attracted only two or three thousand people to Lincoln Park. But that was enough to generate trouble—Hayden's real agenda.

The ensuing melee changed the shape of American politics. The now-famous pictures of demonstrators being bloodied by police, and the chaos on the convention floor, destroyed the presidential chances of Hubert Humphrey and moved the Democratic party dramatically to the left. Four years later, Hayden and the protesters provided the push and the party rule changes that pushed the anti-war candidacy of George McGovern and propelled the party's left wing into power.

When the dust cleared in Chicago, Hayden and seven other radicals, including the Black Panthers' Bobby Seale, were indicted for conspiring to create a riot. During the trial, the defendants created a near-riot in the courtroom itself. Seale was so obstructive that the judge ordered him bound and gagged. The picture of a black man in chains was a made-to-order script for the radical melodrama. One of the conspirators, Jerry Rubin, admitted a decade later that the organizers had lured activists to Chicago hoping to create the riot that eventually took place. This fit with the general strategy Hayden had laid out in private discussions with me. When people's heads are cracked by police, he said more than once, it "radicalizes them." The trick was to maneuver the idealistic and unsuspecting into situations that would achieve this result.

Sid Peck, a member of MOBE, the pacifist group that issued the call to the Chicago demonstration, later told me with some bitterness that Hayden had been "extremely deceptive" in outlining his agenda for the gathering, assuring everyone that his intentions were nonviolent. Hayden's duplicity continued throughout the event, causing the radical historian Staughton Lynd to comment that "on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday [Hayden] was a National Liberation Front guerrilla, and on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, he...was on the left wing of the Democratic party." Anyone who knew Tom knew that the bombthrower was the real Hayden.

Having secured pacifist cover, Hayden then went to the most radical elements in the Left—those who actively advocated violence as a political tactic—and proposed that they provoke a conflict with the police who would be at the demonstration. According to Hayden's own retrospective account, he warned one group in New York that "they should come to Chicago prepared to shed their blood," and he told his co-organizer, Rennie Davis, that he expected 25 people to die. He recruited the Yippies, a group organized by Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, who alarmed Chicago officials by immediately threatening to put LSD in the Chicago water supply.

Hayden also met before the convention with the Weatherman faction of SDS, which had issued a call for "armed struggle" in American cities. As one of the Weather leaders told me later, Hayden proposed to them that "It might be useful if someone were to fire-bomb police cars."

At the event, Hayden gave Bobby Seale a platform in Lincoln Park, and Seale addressed the crowd with the suggestive exhortation that "If a pig comes up to us and starts swinging a billy club, and you check around and you got your piece, you got to down that pig in defense of yourself. We're gonna barbecue us some pork!" Once the violence started, Hayden defiantly incited the crowd to "make sure that if blood is going to flow, it will flow all over the city."

☐ Homelife

While an editor at *Ramparts*, I discovered I liked working at home near my wife, Elissa, and around the children, despite the distractions. And I spent weekends at parks, playgrounds, zoos, and other children's entertainments, while my *Ramparts* colleagues were at political meetings or hanging out in rock clubs. The plants, animals, and children with which Elissa had filled our lives answered a need in me. Her focus was life-centered, present-oriented, and outside herself. This provided a discipline and counterpoint to my own impulses, which were interior, intellectual, and relentlessly toward the future.

When I conveyed the news of our third pregnancy to my father, his reaction was unexpectedly negative. "You've broken the mold," he said cryptically. It took me a while to decipher what he meant. Roz Baxandall, a historian of the Left and a friend, observed that in our parents' generation no progressive had more than two offspring. In the '20s, U.S. Communist Party members considered it reactionary to have *any* children, since they would be obstacles to the revolutionary mission. When years passed and there was no revolution, people became frustrated and began to start families. But even then, two children were regarded as a practical limit. More than two indicated a lack of political focus, a surrender to the forces of self-indulgence.

But even the chores generated by our toddlers and pets, which sometimes seemed endless, created a bond between Elissa and I. I felt integral to the fabric of the life we had created, and not only in emotional ways. Elissa did not know, for example, how to drive—and wouldn't learn. Yet we lived a mile from any stores, and driving was a necessity. In this and other practical ways she made me indispensable. As a result, I was also needed in a traditional sense as the man of the house. The idea was politically retrograde, but it resulted from Elissa's choices.

Like a dutiful Leftist, I pressed my wife to attend a "consciousness-raising" women's group that included Berkeley's feminist elite when this became a radical fashion. To distinguish their radical outlook from merely liberal groups, they called their agenda "women's liberation." Elissa came home from the first session in a state of agitation, vowing never to return. "They hate me because I'm a mother," was all she said. Years later I learned that they had berated her for allowing me to "op-

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press" her by "making" her assume the housewifely role. I also found that within a year of the group's formation, every marriage in it had dissolved.

Few of my radical colleagues had much connection to family or real community. A friend with a Freudian bent observed of *Ramparts* editor Bob Scheer that he "projected onto the socialist future the human connection he had failed to achieve in his own life." I had the same intuition about Tom Hayden, who was not on speaking terms with his father, and seemed to have no fixed home address. But it was the radical Michael Lerner—later famous for his "politics of meaning" which attracted the Clintons' admiration during their first term in the White House—who illustrated the syndrome best. The cake at his first wedding was inscribed with a Weatherman slogan: *Smash Monogamy*. Soon he and his wife had a child, and the young family went east. When the couple separated shortly thereafter, mother and son went to live in Boston. Lerner, however, returned to Berkeley. "Michael," I said, "how can you leave your son in the east to come to Berkeley? He needs you." Without hesitation, Lerner answered: "David, you don't understand. I *have* to be here. Berkeley is the center of the world-historical spirit."

Michael Lerner, later popular with the Clintons, told me "You *have* to take LSD. Until you've dropped acid, you don't know what socialism is."

Lerner also made me understand that drugs were central to the consciousness of the Movement. On discovering that I had never taken LSD, he was incredulous: "You *have* to take LSD. Until you've dropped acid, you don't know what socialism is."

Elissa and I anxiously watched many of our friends' children fall to drugs and other destructive influences around them. The permissive attitude toward marijuana took a particular toll. Harmless as it may have seemed to adult radicals, its impact on adolescents was difficult to control. Many a youngster in our circle who "tripped out" on marijuana went on to harder drugs, or psychosis, and never came back. The responsibility for other, more vulnerable, lives separated us from our childless peers.

■ An American Vietcong

When Bernadine Dohrn became president of SDS in 1968 she announced that she was "a revolutionary Communist." With calculated pride, her vice president, Billy Ayers, declared that he had not read a book in a year. In the Movement, anti-intellectualism was becoming a revolutionary badge of honor. Shortly after their election, these new leaders dissolved SDS into the "Weathermen," Dohrn's political cult which preached a Marxist version of race war. They issued a manifesto inspired by the Maoist doctrine of "people's war" and predicted the coming of a global Armageddon in which the Third World would take revenge on "Amerika" by "bringing the war home." American radicals could atone for their "white skin privilege" by serving as a fifth column inside the enemy camp.

Weathermen and the Black Panthers were the vanguards of the hour. Even Hayden, one of the few radical leaders able to engage serious ideas, had surrendered to the "Vietnam Metaphor"—the prism through which the New Left had come to interpret all events. In articles for the *Berkeley Barb*, he called the Panthers "America's Vietcong" and advocated guerrilla warfare and the creation of "liberated zones" in American cities through armed force. He established a Berkeley Liberation School with its own "Minister of Defense" who trained students in the use of weapons and explosives. At one point, Hayden and his activists even conducted a training session in an emergency clinic in Los Baños, posing as doctors and paramedics, practicing on unsuspecting patients.

"Fascism is coming," Hayden announced on a visit to our *Ramparts* offices. "By the end of the year they're going to put us all in jail." About this time, Michael Lerner suggested I should buy a gun. "Michael," I said in disbelief, "The people aren't with us. You couldn't even describe a scenario in which there was a shoot-out with the police that we could win." Hardly pausing, he said, "Then you have to buy a hand gun and give it to someone else for use in assassinations."

On election eve the year before, the Peace and Freedom Party had nominated Eldridge Cleaver and Jerry Rubin for its presidential ticket. They held a "Pre-Erection Day" (*sic*) celebration in the Berkeley Community Theater, and Rubin came on stage wheeling a live pig in a shopping cart. This was "Pigasus," the Yippie mascot, he informed the crowd. Then he announced he was turning over his vice-presidential spot on the ticket to the pig, and lit up a joint. Eldridge took the microphone and began a rant in which he said the Left had to unite with the Machine Gun Kellys and John Dillingers of the world. He talked about "p*ssy power" and said that he would kill San Francisco Mayor Alioto and his children and grandchildren.

■ Mob Justice

Without a formal hierarchy at *Ramparts*, every issue that came up had to be debated. The need to justify decisions was not only time-consuming for us, but at times cruel to others, as I discovered when we attempted to reduce the mailroom budget at *Ramparts* and were met with a political revolt. The mailroom was staffed by members of Newsreel, a "collective" of radicals who had made promotional films for the Black Panthers and the Vietcong. They had no respect for our publication. The revolution's pecking order had again shifted to the left, and we could not overcome the view that *Ramparts* was part of the power structure that needed to be overthrown.

Originally, we hired just one Newsreeler to do the mailroom work, but he took on more and more part-time help, featherbedding for his revolutionary comrades. When the mailroom budget exceeded that of the editorial department, we decided that things had gone far enough and that we had to cut their hours. But no appeals to the common good made any impression. The Newsreelers saw *Ramparts* as their gravy train rather than their cause, and refused any cuts at all. To them, we were the ruling class and they our rebellious peons.

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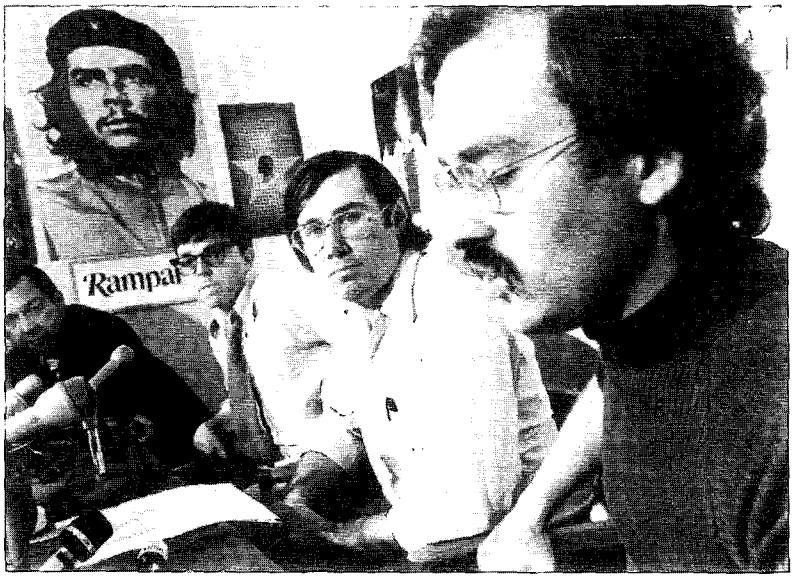
Because every decision had to be justified collectively, we assembled the entire staff and in an all-day session hammered at the recalcitrants' deficiencies and derelictions, summoning other staff members to testify against them. The session went on for eight hours, escalating as the embattled mailroom crew resisted. Their obstinacy made it necessary to expand the charges and sharpen their personal edge. What had begun as a move to institute economies that would save all our jobs turned into a prosecution. Accusations of laziness, dishonesty, and exploitation of fellow workers were hurled at the hapless defendants. In the end, they were made to feel so bad about what they had done that firing them was almost a mercy. This episode was a collectively supported, brutal exercise, necessary for us to prevail, but it made me recognize the utility and compassion that lay in the principle of hierarchy we had cast aside.

Meanwhile, as we ran out of funds at *Ramparts*, we developed schemes which were border-line criminal, but which the reigning rhetoric of the Left encouraged us to think of as civil disobedience. We had printed an excerpt from Abbie Hoffman's anarchist bible *Steal This Book* in which he argued that "ripping off the system" was a revolutionary act. Abbie outlined various scams and justified them as prefigurings of the communist future in which everything would be free. His idea was that people should take according to their needs. But like most radicals, including Marx himself, he gave no thought as to how things would be provided. Our own solution at the magazine was to put half the *Ramparts* staff on unemployment, so that they could collect their "paychecks" from the government. When the government allowance expired, we would put them back on the payroll and lay off the rest.



David Horowitz (right) and *Ramparts* colleagues hold a news conference in 1973 to announce the magazine's publication of classified defense information, which he hoped would help America "lose the war."

☐ Life and Death with the Panthers

Inside the Black Panthers, Huey Newton had created a group of enforcers he called the Squad. He used it to intimidate Black Panther members, who were subject to beatings with bullwhips and chains for disciplinary infractions. It was also available for his personal vendettas and criminal ventures, accompanying him on the drive-by shootings at the "after hours" clubs. Squad members often acted out of their own sadistic impulses as well, so no one was safe from their terror. When one of them was inadvertently insulted by the vice president of the Black Students Union at Grove Street College, the Squad retaliated by executing the offender. The murder was never prosecuted.

Big Bob, a Squad member, confided to a former Panther that in the three years he had been in Oakland, the Squad had killed a dozen people. A friend of mine—Betty van Pater, who I had connected with the Panthers to do their bookkeeping—was one of them, he admitted. When I eventually pieced this together it was a blow that began my retreat from the Left and the radicalism I had until then promoted all my life.

At one point, Huey Newton killed young prostitute Kathleen Smith and Los Angeles police officer John Frey. After shooting Smith, he was driven to the Zen Center in Marin, whose guru, Roshi Baker, gave him refuge. From there, he went to the Beverly Hills home of Hollywood producer Bert Schneider (who co-produced the Oscar-winning pro-North Vietnamese film *Hearts and Minds*). Later, a film director who had been present described the scene to me: "Huey was sitting on Bert's couch, shoving drugs up his nose, and sniveling, 'Get me more coke. I want some p*ssy.' He whined that it was the first time he had killed someone for reasons that were 'non-political'—which was typical Huey bullsh*t."

I also learned, later on, why Brenda Bay was in tears when I last saw her at the Panther's Learning Center. In a gesture to revolutionary theory, the Panthers frowned on marriages. All the women in the Panthers were to be available for Huey Newton's pleasure. He had merely to summon any of them—which he did, sometimes several at a time. Brenda had been secretly married to Newton's bodyguard, and when she found herself in Newton's bed, she told him about her marriage. Newton wanted her to tell her husband about their affair, because he felt it would be dangerous for his bodyguard to discover it behind his back. When Brenda refused, Newton arranged to have her husband summoned to the penthouse when he and Brenda were in bed. The discovery wrecked the marriage.

An episode involving Bobby Seale revealed the wide latitude the Panthers had come to enjoy in public life. After being beaten by Huey Newton and threatened by Panther Elaine Brown, Seale, the former chairman of the Panthers, had completely disappeared in 1975. Amazingly, no one seemed to care that one of the most prominent political figures in democratic America had simply vanished—not the press, not his political supporters in the Left, not his former followers. It turned out that Seale was in hiding, in fear for his life. A year and a half later, Charles Garry, the Panther

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lawyer, told me that Seale had fled because of Elaine's threats, and no one knew where he was—not even his mother.

Seale was easily the most public and popular of the Panther leaders, personally known to most of the prominent figures on the left, including his codefendants in the Chicago conspiracy case, Dave Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Jerry Rubin, and Abbie Hoffman, and their lawyer, William Kunstler. In all the time he was missing, not one of these champions of the oppressed raised his voice to ask where Seale was, and thus provide him with some protection—because Seale's persecutors were the Panthers themselves. In the end, because the Panthers had limited influence, Seale survived. But what would have happened if the Panthers, or radicals like them, had had the kind of societal power we in the Left were trying to hand them?

As radicals, we were impatient with order and had contempt for process. We wanted "direct rule" and "revolutionary justice" unconstrained by legalisms and the hierarchies they required. As a result, we had no means to redress the crimes committed by the Panthers or other tribunes of "the people." Looking back, we had no law to govern us other than that of the gang. The injustice of America's radical vanguards was as brutal and final as Stalin's. It was mercifully smaller in scale only because we were unable to undermine America's "bourgeois" society as much as we had hoped.

The Love of Malice

Working years later on a history of the Weather Underground for *Rolling Stone*, my longtime collaborator Peter Collier and I interviewed Mark Rudd, who had led the "uprising" at Columbia in 1968 and been purged from the Underground after an effort at bomb-building went awry, killing three members. A large, affable man, Rudd alone among the New Left leaders I have known or interviewed had a basic honesty about himself and was feeling genuine remorse for the wasted and destructive years he had spent in the Weather army. He told me that the bomb that killed the three activists had been intended for a service-club dance at Fort Dix in New Jersey.

The three bombers were SDS veterans; their intended target—young people at a dance—showed just how malevolent the Movement had become. Later, Bernadine Dohrn and Kathy Boudin—who had narrowly escaped the earlier explosion—planted a bomb in a ladies room of the U.S. Capitol building.

Rudd also helped us piece together the bizarre final acts of the Underground, which had initiated a series of purges in its ranks, complete with confessions and recantings. The purist remnant that conducted the purges subsequently joined elements of the Black Liberation Army to form the May 19 Communist Organization—celebrating a date which marked the birthdays of Malcolm X and Ho Chi Minh. The goal of these revolutionaries was to create a "New Afrika" in America's southern states through a campaign of guerrilla war. To finance this war, the group held up a Brink's armored car in Nyack, New Jersey. This led to a gun battle in which three policeman were killed, including the only black officer on the Nyack police force. The perpetrators were given 20-year sentences, ending their political careers.

Other New Left radicals proved less contrite with age. When Bernadine Dohrn surfaced after nearly a decade underground, she was interviewed from jail on the Phil Donahue show. I watched with Jim Mellen, a handsome, square-jawed friend with a subdued personality, as if he nursed some subtle grievance toward life.

Jim's career was a case study in the opportunities that America offered. His father was an alcoholic who had left the family; his mother had worked as a soda-fountain clerk to support them. Jim was bright enough to earn a Ph.D. and win a Fulbright scholarship to Tanzania as an agricultural expert. On his return to America in the late '60s, he dropped his academic career for the revolution. He abandoned his two children at infancy. He marched with the Weathermen in their "Days of Rage" in Chicago, trashing downtown businesses to protest "Amerikan" racism and the "imperialist" war. He became the group's "theoretician," writing their famous declaration of race war: "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows."

Jim got off the revolutionary train during a famous "War Council" held in Flint, Michigan, when Bernadine Dohrn praised Charles Manson and spread her fingers in the infamous "fork salute." "Dig it!" she cried to the assembled warriors. "First they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them. They even shoved a fork into a victim's stomach. Wild!" It was not the nasty rhetoric, but her call to actually begin the war he had only theorized, which caused Jim to quit. Later, he tormented himself with the idea that he was a coward unable to stomach the risks his own ideas invited.

After leaving politics, Jim first made solar heaters for hot tubs, then became a carpenter, a contractor, and finally a developer. By the time we sat down to watch the Donahue show, he had mortgaged the two-story house he had bought with his carpentry earnings to finance the construction of condominiums he had designed and built. With the profits he bought a small plane and was preparing to enter a new career by going to law school at night.

Given his humble origins and outlaw status, Jim's business success demonstrated how rich in opportunities and how politically tolerant the system he had declared war on actually was. Yet somehow this success failed to satisfy the radical hungers that gnawed his soul. On TV, Bernadine was justifying her life as a political terrorist by attacking "Amerikan injustice" in the most lurid terms, picturing the country as a vast concentration camp for minorities and the poor. And Jim was hanging on her every word and shouting encouragement. "Jim," I said, incredulous, "you're still with her! If she went out and bombed the Capitol tomorrow, you'd probably say 'right on.'" He smiled at me with a look of utter self-satisfaction: "Nothing would delight me more."

My former-radical colleague Peter Collier had long maintained that malice played a larger role in the motives of '60s activists than I had been willing to accept. The more I thought about the moral posturing of the Left, the more I saw that its real interest was less in making reforms than in framing indictments. Resentment and retribution were the radical passions.

Marx had once invoked a dictum of Goethe's devil: "Everything that exists deserves to perish." When the Left called for "liberation," what it really wanted was to erase the human slate and begin again. Marxism was a form of idolatry. And the Creator/Destroyer that the Left worshipped was itself.

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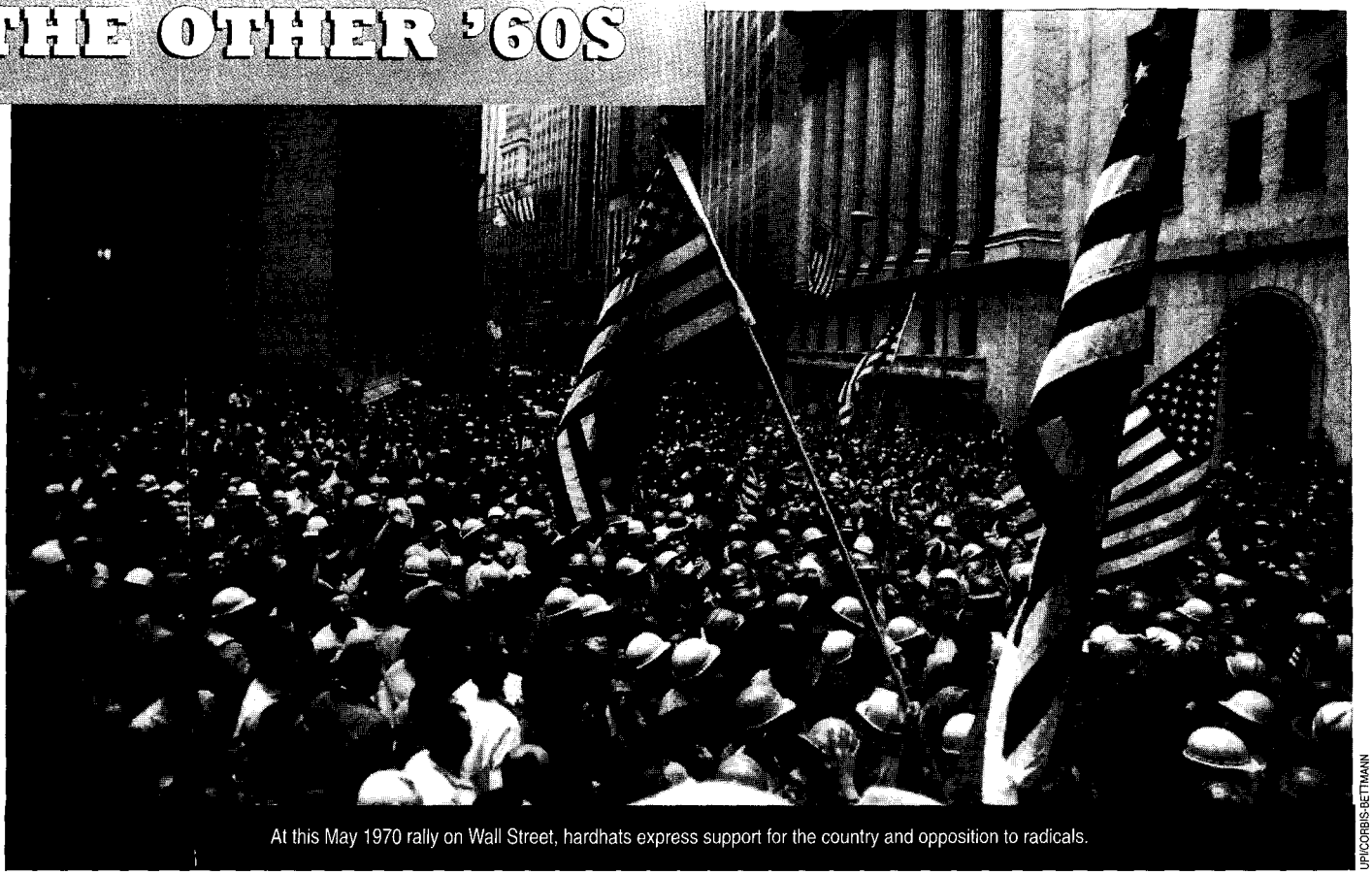
THE OTHER '60S



At this May 1970 rally on Wall Street, hardhats express support for the country and opposition to radicals.

UPI/CORBIS-BETTMANN

TOURIST AT THE REVOLUTION

By Glenn C. Loury

I was a 19-year-old clerk working the midnight shift at a local printing company in Chicago when the Democratic National Convention came to town the famous summer of 1968. On my "lunch break," around three or four in the morning, I would drive down to Grant Park just to marvel at the protests. Not involved in the ruckus, I had the sense of being a tourist at the revolution.

Everything was supposedly being undertaken on behalf of the downtrodden, and I, a working-class black supporting a wife and young daughter, was not hostile to the protesters. In fact, the flower children intrigued me. I think I looked at the protesters as privileged people and was a bit jealous of the way they were able to live without responsibilities.

They were protesting, among other things, the Vietnam War that they'd never had to fight in. By contrast, my brother-in-law—a strong, fearless guy and a hero of mine—had served in the 101st Airborne in Vietnam, and came back from a tour of duty a shell of himself. I still don't know what happened to him, but I knew he bore the burden of his choice. So had our high school's star quarterback, a friend who lost a leg in the war. I sensed that the people I knew had paid a price, and these protesters hadn't.

Even I knew something about suffering the consequences of one's actions, having squandered a scholarship I'd won to a good college a few years earlier. After dropping out I was on my own, while the protesters were children of the middle class who didn't seem to know anything about real life, at least not my side of it. Not that we were impoverished, and no one in my immediate family was in jail or on welfare. We were just working-class folk, and the protesters were not.

When these comfortable flower children demonstrated in the name of people like me, they made me feel like an object. I was "the proletariat." When they met me, they would say, "Oh, man, let me talk to you, man, 'cause you know what's going on on the streets." There was a patronizing sense of, "I know how your people have suffered. We're going to make this a better world for you."

By 1969, my sense of responsibility to my young wife and two daughters had deepened. I wanted to re-establish my academic bona fides and get into the University of Illinois' Chicago campus. That way I could keep working and earn a degree at modest cost. My hope was to achieve simple upward mobility, in order to help my family and also to redeem myself in the eyes of my father.

I had the vague thought of eventually going to law school or some such thing. But the first step was clear—finish college. And so with hopes of soon being able to transfer to the university, I enrolled at Chicago's Southeast Junior College.

It was located on part of a high school campus (where Dick Butkus had played high school football), and truth be told operated a lot like a glorified high school. There was a party atmosphere, though there were also some serious people around. I began taking a full academic load while still working full-time, and my wife took a part-time job to help make ends meet.

I would go to classes during the day and leave at 3:00 in the afternoon for my second-shift job. I'd work from 4:00 to

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midnight, and then I'd come home, see my wife and maybe my kids in the morning, then head out to classes the next day. I was doing well in my second semester when U.S. forces invaded Cambodia, stirring up protests around the country.

Students at this junior college were mainly working-class kids, roughly half white and half black, from the racially mixed neighborhood. Student activism here was a trickle-down version of what was going on at more famous places like Berkeley and Columbia. The shooting at Kent State occurred right in these weeks. Protests were infectious, and Southeast Junior College students organized a big demonstration.

It's kind of comic that I can't now recall the issue they were fighting for. It was never clear what the protesters hoped to accomplish. Students were mainly just protesting to protest.

The junior college was as much a social institution as an academic one for most students, and a running card game of bid whist was always going on. So when it came time to engage in political protests, wave Black Power signs, and so forth, people would just abandon the recreation room where the card games were in bloom to go out in the streets.

My view was, "I don't have time for this." Mine wasn't a sharply political attitude, and certainly I was horrified at what had happened at Kent State, but I thought the local protest was ridiculous. It was led by people I didn't respect. Meanwhile, final exams were coming, and I needed to go about my business.

So I walked past the angry crowd to go to the library to study for the exams that would determine whether I could transfer to a more serious school and earn a bachelor's degree. And I found that the librarian had barricaded herself inside with furniture in front of the door, because she feared the students were going to trash the building. When I asked her to let me in so I could study, she refused, thinking it might be a trick.

I started to tell her my story. "Look, ma'am, I'm older than these students. I work full-time. I came here to study because I have two kids at home and can't get any work done there. And when I leave here I have to go to my job for eight hours. This place is my only chance. I have to do well here or else my life is not going to be good."

Finally she relented and cautiously opened up the door to let me in. While I worked, the librarian and I could hear the loudspeakers and protests outside. I worked on through, got in my car, and drove to my job later that afternoon, the same as usual.

One person who was helping me at the time was my calculus teacher. He was a Greek, a retired engineer spending his old age teaching calculus in a glorified high school to kids who didn't come from much money. There were ten of us in the class, which had a boot camp atmosphere. We were all trying to get ahead, and he was a powerful motivator who urged us on and taught us we could escape whatever ghetto we had come from. With his assistance I eventually landed a scholarship to Northwestern University, where he had studied.

What struck me as so ironic when I was huddled down with my textbooks was the way the protesters outside were wrecking the only vehicle that could help solve the problem they were complaining about. The demonstration's ostensible cause was Vietnam, but at our school the main emphasis was on black power. In retrospect, I was on my way to becoming one of the most successful black people to come out of the South Side of Chicago in that generation. But the path led through that library, not out on the protest ground.

Glenn C. Loury is a professor of economics at Boston University.

THE '60s WERE GRINGO TIME

Mexican-American author Richard Rodriguez didn't feel the angst:

The '60s never happened to me. I didn't get a divorce. I never took drugs. I didn't schoon the desert in a VW van. I wasn't packed off to Saigon or chased up into Canada. I don't even listen to rock music.

The '60s were gringo time. White-middle-class crisis! The white middle class decided it no longer wanted the diploma, the seals, the ribbons, and the stole I had cherished from boyhood. The white middle class pretended to be poor. So I took the prizes, as many as I could get. I had no competition.

—From the book Political Passages, *edited by John Bunzel.*

THE QUIET CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

One little-known truth about the 1960s is that public opinion was never sympathetic to the era's radicals. By 70 to 25 percent, Americans told Gallup pollsters in 1969 that college students should *not* "have a greater say in the running of colleges." Should college students who break laws in campus demonstrations be expelled? *Yes,* replied Americans by an overwhelming 82 to 7 percent margin.

Even most young people remained basically conservative throughout this turbulent period. Ben Wattenberg's 1974 book *The Real America* illustrates this with some interesting poll results:

- When *Seventeen* asked kids two years after the Kent State shootings, "Should police or National Guard be called during a demonstration where damage or violence occurs?" 95 percent replied yes.
- Would the world "be a better place if people had more respect for authority?" the University of Michigan queried 11- to 18-year-olds. By 75 to 14 percent, the teens agreed (40 percent said they "strongly agree").
- Whom did young Americans most admire at the peak of the radical era? The top four were RFK, Bill Cosby, astronaut Neil Armstrong, and John Wayne—not Bob Dylan or Abbie Hoffman.
- Whom did youngsters *least* admire? Fidel Castro, Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, George Wallace, and North Vietnamese Communist Ho Chi Minh.
- When 18-year-olds first received the right the vote in 1972, 52 percent of all youths 18-29 chose Nixon over the anti-war candidate McGovern (as did 65 percent of all other voters).

—the editors

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RIGHT in the '60s

The Other Activists

by Karl Zinsmeister

In 1961, a book called *Revolt on the Campus* was published by a young writer named M. Stanton Evans. Judging from the title, one might assume this was an early take on the left-wing counterculture that burst forth prominently later in the decade. Surprise: *Revolt on the Campus* actually chronicles the exact opposite phenomenon—a sharp rise of conservative activity on campuses across the nation. Some excerpts:

> By late 1960...presidential polls on American campuses showed students inclining heavily toward the Republicans. In the Big Ten, Vice President Nixon often achieved majorities of two-to-one over Senator Kennedy. Even in Michigan, a pro-Kennedy state, Nixon carried the votes of the collegians. In Virginia, Nixon carried almost all the campus polls, compiling a majority of 259-86 at Hampden-Sydney. Faculty members, said the Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* were "surprised."
>
> There are conservative clubs almost everywhere one looks: William and Mary, Rutgers, Minnesota, Rollins, Washington, Maryland, USC, Holy Cross, Rosary, Detroit, Iowa, Wabash, Kansas, Indiana, Miami.... at Yale, the "Party of the Right" has become the most active party in the Political Union; in Cambridge, conservatives have assumed the presidency of the Student Council.... At the University of Wisconsin, young conservatives dominate campus discussion.... At Michigan State a rally for Senator Barry Goldwater is attended by 3,500 people; at college bookstores across the nation, Goldwater's book *The Conscience of a Conservative* is the number-one best seller.

Writing at the same time in *National Review* (September 1960), William F. Buckley, Jr., observed that "the world continues to go left, but all over the land dumbfounded professors are remarking the extraordinary revival of hard conservative sentiment in the student bodies." Evans' book climaxes with his prediction that the most lasting legacy of the 1960s will likely be the rise of a new generation of principled, populist, grassroots conservative activists in America.

At this point, you may be muttering to yourself "*Conservative* students in the 1960s? The only '60s activists I remember were bombthrowers." If so, you are not alone. Most of the media attention and almost all of the historical reflection on the '60s has focused on that era's prominent Left radicals. The fact is, however, young conservative activists organized earlier in the decade, had a broader following, and a much longer-lasting influence (more on that in a minute).

There are three reasons '60s right-wing activists were less visible than their left-wing counterparts. First, they weren't as self-dramatizing; they didn't set themselves on fire or throw bricks through windows. Second, they were briefly eclipsed by the Vietnam War protests when those came to their peak at the turn of the decade. Third and most important, right-wing '60s kids were invisible because the press was unsympathetic and even hostile to their cause.

Conservative organizers in the 1960s often faced ostracism, reports University of California at San Diego professor Rebecca Klatch in her forthcoming book *A Generation Divided: The New Right, The New Left, and the 1960s.* Conservative activist Linda Bradley notes that the *New York Times* always used "modifiers or descriptions about us, calling us 'self-proclaimed' or 'hot-eyed radicals.' I thought, 'My God, they've never met us!'" Student leader Lee Edwards recalls that "to be a young conservative in the '60s was to be an untouchable, a pariah, a Jew in Syria, a black in South Africa.... We were dismissed. So we fought back." Even the Republican party was sometimes suspicious. "Although most of us were Republicans, the party didn't exactly welcome us with open arms," says Bradley. "We were sort of considered to be off the

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beaten path. We were carrying the flag of conservatism at a time nobody really understood what that meant."

The result of all this has been a warped understanding of recent U.S. history. Thanks to wholesale mythologizing, important social developments have been misunderstood or missed altogether. As Mary C. Brennan put it in *Turning Right in the Sixties,* a book recently published by the University of North Carolina Press: "Beginning in the 1960s and continuing in the succeeding years, a one-dimensional view of the '60s as an era of radical movements drew the focus away from other important developments occurring during that time. Journalists and scholars, by spotlighting only the protesters, students, hippies, and demonstrators, ignored the action taking place at stage right and therefore presented a lopsided view of the decade."

A younger, more disinterested generation of revisionist scholars is beginning to recognize that the left-wing baby boomers—who up to now have painted most of the nation's pictures of the 1960s—have been presenting incomplete images. Thomas Sugrue of the University of Pennsylvania, for instance, (who was seven when the '60s closed) recently argued in *Lingua Franca* magazine that the radical counterculture wasn't a particularly important part of our recent history. "Think about the Black Panthers as an example, or SDS," he says. "They had very small memberships. They were made a big deal of in the media in the 1960s. But if you think about the long-term consequences of those groups in building political organizations, their power isn't as great as it appears."

Even some former radicals are beginning to acknowledge this point: "The New Left collapsed, plummeting into cultural oblivion as if it had been some kind of political Hula-Hoop," admits James Miller, a biographer of '60s leftists. "In terms of the political history of this country, the New Left just isn't an important story."

The germination of the New Right during those very same years, however, *has* had consequences. The conservative activists who first organized themselves in the early 1960s were the force behind the rise of Barry Goldwater, the election of Ronald Reagan as governor of California, the takeover of the Republican party from the liberal wing that controlled it for decades, the election of Ronald Reagan as president, and the reversion of Congress to Republican control for the first time in 40 years.

Following are several short essays that help explain how this hidden '60s revolution began and then proceeded. California Republican Congressman Dana Rohrabacher, who was a kind of right-wing hippie in the '60s, explains the appeal of the conservative activist group Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) to many kids of his generation. Following Rohrabacher we provide some data on the very different backgrounds of the right-wing kids and left-wing kids who were '60s activists.

Next, Bruce Chapman sketches a branch of non-Left '60s activism somewhat more obscure than YAF, further illustrating the point that a lot was happening politically that never made it into Walter Cronkite's broadcasts. Then we close with an essay by Evan Gahr which illustrates one additional reason conservatives came out of the '60s with lots of political momentum: The decade's left-wing activism was so excessive it set off a backlash of abhorrence and active resistance that continues to this day.

Karl Zinsmeister is editor in chief of The American Enterprise.

Us Young Americans for Freedom

By Dana Rohrabacher

Early in the summer of 1967, my buddy Paul Jenkins and I threw our gear into the back of his mom's station wagon and headed up the California coast to Monterey. The pop arts festival there was a precursor to the more massive Woodstock event that took place two years later. At Monterey we "grooved" to some great new performers like Janis Joplin, Grace Slick and the Jefferson Airplane, and Jimi Hendrix.

One lasting memory of this weekend came after the concert was over. People were pulling sleeping bags out of the trunks of their cars, and a bottle of cheap wine was being passed around a circle of complete strangers. One of the wine guzzlers piped up to complain that a visual used during Grace Slick's act suggested John Kennedy was murdered by right-wingers. "The commies killed Kennedy," he blurted out before taking another slug from the bottle. Surprise. On further discussion it turned out that everybody in our little circle turned out to be a conservative of sorts. Perhaps all the conservatives at the concert had just gravitated to the circle where a bottle was being passed around. Or perhaps the common stereotypes weren't accurate.

The media coverage of these rock 'n roll events and other happenings in the 1960s created a flawed view of the youth attending them. First and foremost, the kids at the concerts were not all leftist radicals. The gang I hung out with were anti-Left, pro-American, and most of us believed in God. Most of us were also fans of Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, the Doors, the Grateful Dead, the whole gamut. After all, we were kids. The political views of the singers were not compelling to us. Besides, songs about peace were not immediately considered an attack on America. Who the heck wants war? Some kids in Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) wore buttons that proclaimed "Peace through superior firepower." We believed that, and so did the American people. Superior firepower is exactly why we had peace most of the time. It wasn't until Vietnam that willpower (or lack thereof) overcame firepower.

Though no one in the media reported it, there was a growing conservative trend among America's youth in the 1960s. In the fall of 1964, for example, what would you guess was the largest, best organized, most active, and creative organization on college campuses coast to coast? If you said any group on the left you were way off. It was Youth for Goldwater. "Barry's boys," and girls, were hustling and organizing, passing out campaign material, planning rallies, and waving flags. I had 100 kids in Palos Verdes High School walking precincts on weekends. Nearby schools in Torrance and in Los Angeles County's South Bay had similar activist groups. We got a lot done. All we didn't get was press coverage.

The press was predisposed to portray American youth as Peace Corps volunteers, pacifists, and civil rights activists. There was, of course, nothing wrong with being any of those, but that wasn't what most young Americans were all about. We were unabashedly patriotic, anticommunist, and a little suspicious of civil rights leaders (perhaps to a fault, in retrospect).

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The Vietnam War undid a lot of conservative progress, at least temporarily. It was a war that went on and on—twice as long as World War II. Conservatives ended up supporting Lyndon Johnson out of respect for the commander in chief, even though he had foolishly decided on a slow war of attrition, which is both immoral and unwinnable when one's adversary is a totalitarian regime with lots of helpful allies and little regard for the lives of its people.

What got ground down in Vietnam was the will of the American people. Well into the war, contrary to stereotypes, most Americans, including young people, supported taking a stand in Vietnam. The media painted the anti-war movement as being led by pacifists and idealists—an untrue stereotype. By and large, the organized effort against the war was steered by hardcore Marxists. These folks wanted not peace but a communist victory in Vietnam, and in the Cold War as well. The news media steadfastly ignored the philosophical commitments of the organizers of the "peace movement," and rarely showed the communist and Viet Cong flags that were flapping in the wind at every rally. Of all the personalities who emerged in the 1960s, it's worth noting that only Joan Baez really was and remains an anti-war idealist, pacifist, and humanitarian.

While the media softened the ideology of left-wing activists, they ignored the conservatives altogether. Conservatives and libertarians were united by Goldwater's pro-freedom, pro-America message. And after the 1964 election many of us active in Barry's effort shifted into Young Americans for Freedom, which had been launched from Bill Buckley's backyard in Sharon, Connecticut, in 1960. While the 1962 "Port Huron Statement" penned by the left-wing Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is regularly advertised as a landmark political proclamation, the Sharon Statement that founded YAF is perhaps the finest manifesto of freedom ever penned by American youth. *(See box nearby.)*

It's significant that the youth organization of 1960s conservatives was named Young Americans for Freedom. Conservatives are nearly unstoppable when they rally behind a positive, pro-freedom message. Unfortunately, as the Vietnam War dragged on it became hard to maintain an idealistic pro-freedom agenda. Who can get excited about marching in a parade headed by Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon?

Nevertheless, YAF did yeoman work in the late 1960s, battling the unrelenting message from the media that the Left was riding the wave of the future while conservatives were rich bigots. We had our own demonstrations, against IBM's trade with communist countries for example. We served as the advance guard for Ronald Reagan's gubernatorial campaign, and again in 1968 during his first faint-hearted try at the Presidency. We had debates, confrontations, and touch football games with our leftist counterparts.

By the time Reagan won the presidency in 1980, veterans of YAF were ready to assume influential positions in his administration. When I first ran for Congress, my secret weapon was the high-quality support I received from friends who had been politically active with me since the late 1960s. As far as the media was concerned we didn't exist, but in the long run we won.

You see, those weren't all lefties sitting on the grass out there listening to the music.

Dana Rohrabacher represents Orange County, California, in Congress.

The Sharon Statement

In September 1960, a group of 90 students representing 44 colleges in 24 states met to found the Young Americans for Freedom. The organization soon had tens of thousands of 16- to 35-year-old members. Following is an extract from their statement of principles.

WE, AS YOUNG CONSERVATIVES, BELIEVE....

- That liberty is indivisible, and that political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom;
- That the purposes of government are to protect these freedoms through the preservation of internal order, the provision of national defense, and the administration of justice;
- That when government ventures beyond these rightful functions, it accumulates power which tends to diminish order and liberty....
- That the genius of the Constitution—the division of powers—is summed up in the clause which reserves primacy to the several states, or to the people, in those spheres not specifically delegated to the Federal Government;
- That the market economy, allocating resources by the free play of supply and demand, is the single economic system compatible with the requirements of personal freedom and constitutional government, and that it is at the same time the most productive supplier of human needs;
- That when government interferes with the work of the market economy, it tends to reduce the moral and physical strength of the nation; that when it takes from one man to bestow on another, it diminishes the incentive of the first, the integrity of the second, and the moral autonomy of both;
- That...history shows periods of freedom are rare, and can exist only when free citizens concertedly defend their rights against all enemies;
- That the forces of international Communism are, at present, the greatest single threat to these liberties;
- That the United States should stress victory over, rather than coexistence with, this menace.

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Staten Island vs. Scarsdale

The two mirror-image student activist groups of the 1960s—YAF on the right, and SDS on the left—were roughly comparable in size, but as different in membership as they were in principle.

Professor Rebecca Klatch's survey of some former members of each group found that more than half of all SDS members had Eastern European heritage, while 90 percent of the YAF activists claimed Northern European roots (with 45 percent specifically mentioning Irish descent). A 1966 survey by Richard Braungart pegged SDS at 47 percent Eastern European and YAFers at 60 percent Northern European.

The religious backgrounds of right and left activists also differed sharply. Results from Braungart, Klatch, and sociologist Richard Flacks (who interviewed leftist students in 1967) show that YAFers were roughly 55 percent Protestant, 35 percent Catholic, and 8 percent Jewish (a pretty close reflection of the nation's overall makeup). SDS activists, on the other hand, were about 60 percent Jewish, with most of the rest Protestant, and only a few percent Catholic.

SDSers were seven times as likely as YAFers to say they grew up with no religious background. And as far as current practice, Braungart discovered that in the mid-1960s, three-quarters of SDS members did not attend church or synagogue at all, while three-quarters of all YAFers went regularly to services.

Another notable difference between right-wing and left-wing '60s activists is that the left-wingers grew up in much more privileged circumstances. SDS members were far likelier to come from a high-income family, to have college and graduate school degrees in their family, to have parents in "professional" or "managerial" occupations. The mothers of SDS students were much likelier to have been employed during their children's early years (and in higher status jobs).

In *Roots of Radicalism*, professors Stanley Rothman and Robert Lichter characterize the backgrounds and value systems of the families that produced many SDS activists as "mostly wealthy, well-educated, upper-middle-class professionals, such as college faculty, doctors, and lawyers." Parents of left-wing radicals were usually "politically liberal" and "socially liberal."

When Don Feder, now a nationally syndicated columnist, was interviewed in the '60s during his tenure as head of YAF in Massachusetts, he stated that "We get quite a few first-generation students. We seem to attract the lower and middle class. SDS attracts the middle and upper class, the kids whose parents have made it, the kids who've never really had to struggle and are looking for some meaning." Or as another YAFer put it when interviewed by the *New York Times* in 1969, "We're Staten Island. They're Scarsdale."

These differences showed up in starkly different principles and policies. In 1969, for instance, right at the peak of left-wing counterculture experiments with drugs, sex, and rebellion, YAF organized a rally where 15,000 self-proclaimed "squares" sang: "We don't smoke marijuana in Muskogee. We don't take our trips on LSD. We don't burn our draft cards down on Main Street. 'Cause we like living right and being free."

—the editors

Flaming Moderates of the '60s Move Right

by Bruce Chapman

We made up political buttons that said, "I am an Extreme Moderate." Our antagonism to big government was genuine, but more, well, *moderate* than those of our friends and adversaries on the GOP right.

Tender of years in the early 1960s, we at *Advance* magazine and, later, the Ripon Society seldom got much media attention, unless we were criticizing the GOP leadership. The shuffling GOP regulars were harried on all sides—including by *Advance*, which termed them The Stupid Party. We wanted innovations like a volunteer military, bomb shelters, an end to the old country-based immigration quotas, and federalism that would return power to the states.

Advance began with George Gilder and me at Harvard College in 1960, then moved to Washington, D.C. In 1964 it drowned in Goldwater. The failure of *Advance* showed just how weak moderate Republicanism really was, even near its high-water mark.

The Ripon Society, formed about 1963 (also at Harvard), was named after the Wisconsin town where the GOP was first organized. It was set up to study issues and write papers. Campus chapters were established around the East and in New York City.

There was no attempt to build a grass roots movement, and I don't imagine there were more than about 150 Ripon members scattered around at any one time. But *Advance* and the early Ripon Society, before they lost many of us to more conservative causes, furthered a number of useful arguments—including the central one that a party needs ideas as well as principles and workers. Our position in favor of civil rights was quickly embraced by the Right. Everyone in the GOP found they could back federalism. The volunteer military was enacted as law by Nixon.

But Ripon also changed, and to some extent there was something wrong with it from the beginning. What was wrong was the tendency on the part of many moderates to define themselves not by objective standards but by the sheer feeling of moderation. That isn't hard—just find out where the Left and Right are at any given moment and take a position between them. Conviction politics of the Reagan and Thatcher variety is a proper antidote to such wishy-washy wetness in the center, as well as to the politics of feeling promoted by the Left.

Specific issues also changed, of course. It was one thing, in the comparatively simple '60s, to contend that government could be made to work fine if only Republicans were in charge. It was another to hold such optimism after Richard Nixon had not only institutionalized the Great Society but expanded it.

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Then there were the social issues. When several of us joined Martin Luther King's March on Washington in 1963, it was for equal opportunity, not for affirmative action quotas and mandatory school busing. Similarly with the new issues of gender. George Gilder was editing the *Ripon Forum* in the mid-1970s when his book *Sexual Suicide* made him "the most dangerous man in America" to Betty Friedan. Eventually, terminal ire in the budding feminist faction at Ripon terminated him at the *Forum*.

Then there was the matter of the federal income tax. By the 1970s, inflation was pushing more and more of the middle class into higher brackets. Richard Rahn, then Ripon's president, met economist Art Laffer at a Ripon function and helped set up the first supply-side econometric model. Gilder, among others, made the supply-side case famous in his 1981 book *Wealth and Poverty*.

By the late 1970s it was clear to many of us that Ripon was an idea whose time had come and gone. Ripon continues on, a few alumni have turned left, but most of the founding braintrust have long since shifted to mainstream conservatism. Many have been influential. In addition to the individuals named above and a few elected congressmen, John McClaughry has become a libertarian theorist in Vermont, Chris DeMuth is president of AEI; Patricia Lines is one of the nation's experts on home schooling, vouchers, and charter schools.

More '60s kids grown up and changing the world. But not the way George McGovern had in mind.

Bruce Chapman, former director of the U.S. Bureau of the Census and aide to President Reagan, is president of the Discovery Institute in Seattle.

The Revolt That Revolted

by Evan Gahr

I was still a pre-schooler when the '60s closed, and it actually wasn't until five years ago that I came to understand just how repugnant a time they were.

My crash course in the decade started out as a routine magazine assignment. In 1992, I went to Yale to investigate Hillary Clinton's days as a law student there. I wanted to see if Hillary had taken part in demonstrations or written something that conflicted with the centrist pose she had adopted for her hubby's presidential campaign. At the time, the campaign was trying to depict Bill and Hillary as Middle America's biggest friends since Ozzie and Harriet.

The research was tedious but straightforward—sifting through old student newspapers, day by day, page by page, year by year, for Hillary's entire tenure at the Yale Law School, which began in 1969. Once I opened the bound volume from Hillary's first year on campus I was engulfed by the Age of Aquarius. The whole epoch was on display, and it wasn't subtle.

The 1969 academic year began with a hearty band of students camping out on the university lawn in a bid to fight

It's not hard for me to understand why many who lived through the '60s moved right in reaction.

Yale's "uptightness." One student explained, "People haven't had the opportunity to see other people live like human beings in public places." When not busying themselves with deep endeavors like these, student radicals expressed their common identity with welfare mothers, or held seminars on "radical politics and guerrilla theater."

Other students compiled a report blasting the Pentagon for overemphasizing defense. They warned that the U.S. is "becoming a national security state," the *Daily News* reported. Somehow, the long tentacles of the national security state were noticeably absent at Yale, though: Students disrupted classes with impunity.

Many of the demonstrations were connected to the New Haven trial of various Black Panther members. The campus was embroiled in anti-war demonstrations, too. There were also visits from representatives of the terrorist Japanese Red Army, and speeches from such New Left stalwarts as defense lawyer Leonard Weinglass. He delighted students by praising the governments of workers' paradises like China, North Vietnam, and North Korea for trying to "effect meaningful social change."

As I burrowed my way through four years' worth of Yale's news record at the archive I came across lots of tidbits that gave a flavor of the times, like the items on students denouncing marriage as a "patriarchal institution" before joining forces with feminist groups ranging from the Society for Cutting Up Men (SCUM) to the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH).

Everyone was so damn angry. Never mind that the students lived amid unprecedented affluence and freedom, waited on hand and foot. Picture after picture showed students with clenched fists. And, of course, the hair: shoulder length for everyone—except a few feminists who endeavored to look as mannish as possible.

The men all sported mangy beards. Ironically, the *Daily News* had an advertisement for Norelco electric razors. Talk about not knowing your market.

What a relief it was to leave that office, and the fever swamps of the late 1960s, to return to 1992. This brief but intense immersion in radical Yale was so revolting it actually shifted my own politics rightward. With each turn of the page, there was more arrogance, vileness, and pretension. If these were the high holy days of the Left, I wanted to be somewhere else, and I wanted the rest of my country to avoid that world too.

And all of this just from *reading the newspapers*. So it's not hard for me to understand why many of the people who actually lived through the 1960s moved sharply in the conservative direction. That was the right reaction.

Evan Gahr is a frequent contributor to The American Enterprise.

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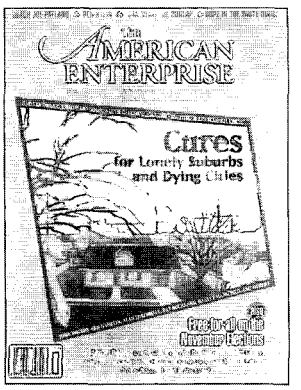

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MISSING

Was the '60s disdain for bigness, centralization, & conformity healthy until it went awry?

Power to the Politics

By Lynn Scarlett

I recently stood, like a tourist at the zoo, gawking at a bunch of has-been, wispy-haired hippies chanting slogans. Some younger folks mingled in the crowd, mimicking the aging flower children. My daughter simply moaned, "Oh, no. Just when I become a teenager, the fad will be hairy legs again."

Hairy legs. My sister and other alums of the 1960s wouldn't be seen without them. But the '60s also gave us health-food stores. And Kinko's—an idea hatched in Santa Barbara by an advocate of decentralizing technology with an Afro puffed up so big it doubled the size of his head.

The '60s youth celebrated experimentation. They turned pursuit of personal authenticity into a cult. Remainders of this optimistic and dynamic Zeitgeist are all around us.

And then there was '60s politics, a collection of paradoxes: denouncing authority but obsessed with power; speaking of the dignity of individuals but preoccupied with group rights; proclaiming the virtues of personal empowerment but finding victims everywhere; at once decentralizing and centralizing; trusting in the rational plan but eschewing formal organizations.

Historian Samuel Huntington ranks the '60s, too grandiosely, with the Progressive Era and America's founding Revolution as one of the great historic challenges "to existing systems of authority, public and private.... This challenge manifested itself in the family, the university, business, public and private associations, politics, the governmental bureaucracy, and the military services." The '60s, Huntington proclaims, broke down social barriers: "People no longer felt the same compulsion to obey those whom they had previously considered superior to themselves in age, rank, status, expertise, character, or talents."

That thinking produced a bumper sticker: "Question Authority." It may have helped spark today's experiments in the workplace—intrapreneurship, horizontal organization charts, employee ownership, telecommuting. Maybe it even helped embolden the likes of Bill Gates to believe they could challenge IBM or AT&T. It surely led to a skepticism of the police powers of government.

But so much of the focus was on power—political power. "Question Authority" showed up on bumper stickers, but it was proclamations of "Power to the People" that made headlines and infected politics in ways that persist today.

Think about that slogan. The "power" part is plain enough—the Founders were concerned about power. But they focused on limiting it, and on ensuring spheres of personal autonomy separate from public governance. Too many '60s politicos turned that idea on its head by arguing that personal dignity—or "authenticity," as the New Left's Port Huron Statement put it—would come only through seizing the apparatus of political power.

Everything personal became political. Activist Tom Hayden complained when his fellow travelers hesitated to turn private troubles into public issues. Looking back 20 years later, '60s activist-turned-academic Todd Gitlin acknowledged this preoccupation. "Every aspect of everyday life, from housework to homework" was politicized, he writes.

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THE BOAT

I remember an episode that illustrates this. Some fellow counterculturists and I were motoring along Highway 101 in Oregon in a ridiculous VW flatbed truck topped with a hand-crafted camper shell. I lamented the cold. The political guru of our troupe seized upon the statement as a display of bourgeois consciousness. With Mao-style pomposity, he suggested we all engage in a bit of self-reflection and re-education. (I got out and hitch-hiked.)

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Did this politicization of the personal leave a legacy for today? News headlines brim with evidence that it did. A six-year-old's classroom kiss becomes an incident of "sexual harassment" for the school board to punish. A private exchange of a Midol pill is taken as a regulatory offense.

And politicization was only one of the problems with New Left theorizing.

Think again about that slogan "power to the people." We didn't say "power to people," which connotes a world of individuals. We spoke of "*the* people." A collective. It wasn't individuals that '60s activists wanted to empower, but groups. More precisely, they wanted to empower self-appointed spokespersons for specific groups—women, "the poor," minorities. This was just Old Left thinking with Marx's "working class" replaced by a broader set of victim categories.

I go back to another memory, from around 1969. It was a planning session for an antiwar march, a big to-do in San Francisco. Folks sat around seriously debating which groups could be anointed as official participants. Should gay rights groups be included? Did they represent an oppressed class? How about "the elderly"? Were they oppressed enough?

Today's politics is still awash with this groupism. Its more legalistic forms—like racial or gender quotas—are under assault. But subtler forms persist. In one currently favored version, "stakeholders" demand a place on corporate boards, claiming group entitlement. And these demands are accepted by many 1990s Americans.

The '60s preoccupation with political power and group rights led—inevitably, I think—to a politics of victimhood. Sixties politicos insisted that women, minorities, youth, and others were mere pawns, their fate controlled by the "privileged." And so collective political activism became the path to dignity and personal fulfillment.

Since they perceived politics as the only meaningful arena for social action, New Leftists discounted achievements wrought through economic enterprise or private association. Middle Americans were simply "cheerful robots"—unfulfilled and uninspiring. "We did not anticipate," Tom Hayden later reflected, "that the oppressed in whose name we spoke would want to enter the middle-class world we were rejecting."

Some of the less political '60s kids weren't so blind in this way. Certain hippies went into crafts, selling natural foods, and organizing small communities as a way of expanding choices. But among trendsetting activists, political revolution was the only worthwhile activity.

The first half of the twentieth century had been a time of mass production in the U.S.—putting cars, TVs, and refrigerators into every home. This meant stamping things out in bulk. Sixties kids hated this "depersonalization." They reacted against the fusty hierarchies and organizational forms left over from World War II military campaigns. Understandable enough.

But they erred in thinking that America's free-market economy was the cause of such depersonalization. For the second half of this century has seen tremendous customization and niche-marketing. Every consumer has become special. Bread departments now feature not just the Weber's white loaf of my youth but a dizzying array of alternatives. There are many-scented shampoos, vegetables that shoppers can't even name, Italian-style clothes, Scandinavian home furnishings. There are personal pizzas, extra-caffeine colas, and animal-cruelty-free cosmetics. Special.

QUESTION AUTHORITY

According to the "do your own thing" creed, these ought to be welcome advances. But few 1960s activists expressed any appreciation at all for the life-enhancing qualities of a decentralized society and entrepreneurial economy. New Leftists said they opposed concentration of power, and uniformity, and big government. But by agitating for a society in which everything flowed from politics, they

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prescribed a world full of what Walter Lippmann called "meddlesome tyranny limiting individual freedom."

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, not John Locke, lay behind '60s liberalism. Like Rousseau, '60s politicos believed in the perfectibility of mankind and in our near-infinite capability to engineer a more perfect world. They played up the role of the intellectual—and rational planning—in directing human affairs.

In the 1990s, conservatives have been chipping away at "group-think" and victimhood—by opposing hiring quotas, transforming welfare into workfare, and restoring to courts and classrooms modest notions of accountability and responsibility. But what economist Friedrich Hayek called "the fatal conceit" is alive and well: the belief that experts, armed with good intentions and power, can shape economic and social outcomes to the good through grand plans.

The result? Hillary Clinton and Ira Magaziner—'60s children both—along with their army of experts create Rube Goldberg-style flow charts of a better health-care system. Their plan was defeated, but the mindset that concocted such a proposal persists.

The fatal conceit is not uniquely a '60s mistake; Hayek wrote about it 30 years earlier. But '60s politicos made central planning a commonplace, with even local, family, neighborhood, and private matters becoming grist for government controllers. Urban growth boundaries, racial busing orders, environmental impact statements—all now flourish in the hands of grown-up '60s activists who have become lawyers, consultants, and politicians.

True, election returns suggest that one unexpected legacy of the '60s is conservative—the seeds planted by Goldwater devotees and Young Americans for Freedom organizers have given bloom to Republican presidents and now the first Republican Congress in two generations.

But the larger legacy of the '60s is the politicization of American life. Just about everything has become political today: smoking, driving your car, TV viewing, jokes by the water cooler, tossing out trash. That is a win for the New Left. And it's nothing to be proud of.

Lynn Scarlett was an antiwar activist three decades ago. She is now a vice-president of the Reason Foundation.

Stumbling Toward a Littler America

By Michael Barone

"Do not bend, fold, staple or mutilate." So read one famous sign at the Berkeley student riots in 1964. Translation, for those not familiar with the IBM hole-punch cards that were the high tech of the mid-1960s: Do not treat me like an interchangeable part of a large machine. The University of California—a "multiversity," as Chancellor Clark Kerr called it—was the largest institution of higher education in America, a university that was adding nearly a campus a year, an organization that found it useful to identify its students by a number, just as in World War II the 10-million-man U.S. Army had found it useful to identify every serviceman by serial number. Treat me not as a number, the student rioter was saying, but as an individual, as a unique person with my own characteristics and interests and capacities and needs.

It was a sentiment shared by persons whom the student rioters saw as their polar opposites—by conservative avatar Russell Kirk, or by Karl Hess, the libertarian-minded conservative who that same year was penning for Barry Goldwater the phrase, "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."

Ironically, Goldwater was the object of the original rioters' grievance: They had wanted to set up a table on Sproul Plaza to hand out literature urging the election of Lyndon Johnson, a sentiment widely shared by the townsfolk and denizens of Berkeley, among whom few Goldwater voters could be found. But the regents of the university had a rule that no political campaigning could be conducted on university property, and in a big organization a rule must be applied without individual exceptions. Johnson would probably have concurred with his fellow big-organization head Clark Kerr, while the student with the "Do Not Bend" sign would likely have enjoyed support from, if not Goldwater, then certainly Hess.

Were the student rebels, then, the precursors of today's devolving conservatives? In a way, yes. And not just of conservatives, but of the society generally. For one of the things the Berkeley riots signified was the beginning of the end of industrial America's big-unit society and the beginning of post-industrial America's small-unit society.

Industrial America was run by big units—big government, big business, big labor, and big universities—and for the most part run reasonably well. Big-unit America recovered from the Depression, won World War II, built the prosperous postwar economy: 30 years of stunning achievement when viewed from the vantage point of 1964. But the young were not impressed. The first boomers arrived on campus in the early '60s. By 1964 they were a majority of the undergraduates at Berkeley and elsewhere. The Berkeley riots were the first sign that this new generation did not find big-unit America congenial, that they were seeking to create something else.

When the Berkeley students rioted in 1964, only 15,000 American troops were in Vietnam, and the military draft exempted college students. The original Berkeley protest was not about what came to be called "the war," but about politics and social life. "The main principle of the radically humanist politics is this: Any decision not made by the people in free association, whatever the content of that decision, cannot be good," wrote Carl Oglesby, one-time president of Students for a Democratic Society, in a 1967 tract. "Whether central planning should be coordinated by government or corporate hands," he added, "is a question whose realism has disappeared." Oglesby goes on to quote the historian William Appleman Williams: "These radical values can most nearly be realized by decentralization and through the creation of truly human communities."

The student radical Left was correct to the extent it was arguing that the big units of American society were performing poorly. Big government in the mid-1960s gave us the Vietnam War and the antipoverty programs, fiascos both. Big business gave us automobiles devoid of new technology and designed to become quickly obsolescent. Big labor devised contracts with high pay and benefits for low-quality work. In time, each of the all-powerful Big Three would totter toward bankruptcy. But the student radicals offered few alternatives. Many careened into pointless violence. Others lived on quietly as ineffec-

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tual academics, waiting for the workers of the world to call them to power.

Still other baby boomers veered left and never seriously adopted the critique of big-unit society. These people, most of whom attended elite colleges, have been dubbed coat-and-tie radicals by conservative polemicist R. Emmett Tyrrell. Bill and Hillary Clinton are the most visible exemplars of the breed, whose goal, as they struggled to avoid the draft and paint their avoidance as noble, was not to abolish the big units of American life but to take them over. Even when they mimicked the tactics of violent protesters, they had in the back of their minds the thought that they would soon be inside those government buildings, advising the leaders of big government or occupying the positions themselves.

And so it came to pass. Bill Clinton was demonstrating against the war in London in 1969. By 1974 he was running for Congress. In 1976 he was elected Attorney General of Arkansas.

But the coat-and-tie radicals, better known today as liberals, have seen their projects frustrated by contradictions that principled '60s activists, of the Right and Left, could have anticipated. A major one was the contradiction between the desire to enhance the power and prestige of the state while reducing the power and prestige of the military. War is the great friend of the state. We tolerate the growth of the state during war because we are threatened, because sacrifice is asked of us all, because it is temporary. Without war, a free society will not tolerate the engulfing growth of government and centralized power. The close of the Vietnam War slowed the centralizing trend, and victory in the Cold War accelerated the backlash.

So liberals now preside over a federal government that is losing power to smaller units: states and localities, private individuals, firms, and associations. They preside as actions taken by people "out there" are causing sudden declines in welfare rolls and crime rates. Thus the attempts—first by the student rioters and then by the coat-and-tie radicals—to put a leftward thrust on the trend toward disempowering big-unit institutions have mostly failed.

Nowadays, free people in an increasingly small-unit America are choosing to live mostly like conservative Middle Americans. Not like products of Berkeley or Yale Law School.

Michael Barone is a senior staff editor for Reader's Digest *and a regular contributor to* The American Enterprise.

WHERE '60s RIGHT AND '60s LEFT OVERLAPPED

Despite huge differences between the goals and styles of left-wing Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) activists and right-wing Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) students in the 1960s, there are also some striking parallels between the two groups. For one thing, both expressed suspicion towards large-scale organizations.

Although SDS favored government intervention to reduce inequality and promote social welfare, while liberty-loving YAF was firmly opposed to any government expansion of this sort, both recognized the stultifying effects of bureaucracy without control. The 1962 Port Huron Statement that helped launch SDS speaks of "bureaucratic coagulation" and calls for experiments in decentralization, ideas compatible with the ideology of YAF. There is a common strand between the two groups that favors the small-scale, face-to-face interaction of local communities and neighborhood control.

Both groups also shared a thrust towards populism, and a skepticism of elites. As Tom Hayden comments, reflecting on the Port Huron Statement:

> We were rejecting the limited concept of democracy that had come to prevail, one in which expertise, specialization, and bureaucracy had come to count for more than popular will.... Our democratic idealism flowed from a populist root, the belief that an informed public would make "better" decisions about its own interests than anyone else.

This emphasis on self-determination and self-government was equally at the heart of YAF activism.

A populist thrust, belief in decentralization, a disdain for authoritarianism, and shared hostility towards the state provided some common ground for members of YAF and SDS. Stan Evans, who drafted YAF's founding Sharon Statement, commented that

> The impulse behind both organizations was common libertarianism: both believed society was too regimented, government too big. There was a strong impulse towards personal freedom.... Most of the debates I had [with SDS] were over the best way to defend personal freedom. I believe the original impulse behind SDS was a good one.... To me one of the great tragedies of the New Left was that derailment of the original impulse: young people as pro-freedom and pro-fairness.... The intuition that "corporate liberalism" was repressive—controlling, regimenting, Big Government—was a very correct intuition.

After SDS's Port Huron Statement came out, YAF member Don Devine reports he had "some crazy idea of trying to get the two groups together." Devine noted the shared anti-Establishment vocabulary of both groups. The issue was taken up at a YAF board meeting but nothing ever came of it. Still another YAF activist, Louise Lacey, identified individual responsibility and individual participation as shared goals of the two groups.

Although some members of YAF recognized common ground with SDS, all of the commentary by members of SDS at the time was, interestingly, critical of YAF. An SDS article analyzing the Sharon Statement lambasted YAF. Tom Hayden called young conservatives "politically absurd." Another left-wing critic wrote that YAF was "virtually maniacal...an unthinking response...irrational."

Adapted from A Generation Divided: The New Right, The New Left, and the 1960s, *a book in progress by Rebecca Klatch of the University of California at San Diego.*

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PEACE? OR DEFEAT?

WHAT DID THE VIETNAM WAR PROTESTERS WANT?

BY JAMES WEBB

Antiwar protestor burns American flag in Berkeley, California.

CORBIS-BETTMANN

It is difficult to explain to my children that in my teens and early twenties the most frequently heard voices of my peers were trying to destroy the foundations of American society, so that it might be rebuilt according to their own narcissistic notions. In retrospect it's hard even for some of us who went through those times to understand how highly educated people—most of them spawned from the comforts of the upper-middle class—could have seriously advanced the destructive ideas that were in the air during the late '60s and early '70s. Even Congress was influenced by the virus.

After President Nixon resigned in August of 1974, that fall's congressional elections brought 76 new Democrats to the House, and eight to the Senate. A preponderance of these freshmen had run on McGovernesque platforms. Many had been viewed as weak candidates before Nixon's resignation, and some were glaringly unqualified, such as then-26-year-old Tom Downey of New York, who had never really held a job in his life and was still living at home with his mother.

This so-called Watergate Congress rode into town with an overriding mission that had become the rallying point of the American Left: to end all American assistance in any form to the besieged government of South Vietnam. Make no mistake—this was not the cry of a few years earlier to stop young Americans from dying. It had been two years since the last American soldiers left Vietnam, and fully four years since the last serious American casualty calls there.

For reasons that escape historical justification, even after America's military withdrawal the Left continued to try to bring down the incipient South Vietnamese democracy. Future White House aide Harold Ickes and others at "Project Pursestrings"—assisted at one point by an ambitious young Bill Clinton—worked to cut off all congressional funding intended to help the South Vietnamese defend themselves. The Indochina Peace Coalition, run by David Dellinger and headlined by Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, coordinated closely with Hanoi throughout 1973 and 1974, and barnstormed across America's campuses, rallying students to the supposed evils of the South Vietnamese government. Congressional allies repeatedly added amendments to spending bills to end U.S. support of Vietnamese anti-Communists, precluding even air strikes to help South Vietnamese soldiers under attack by North Vietnamese units that were assisted by Soviet-bloc forces.

Then in early 1975 the Watergate Congress dealt non-Communist Indochina the final blow. The new Congress icily resisted President Gerald Ford's January request for additional military aid to South Vietnam and Cambodia. This appropriation would have provided the beleaguered Cambodian and South Vietnamese militaries with ammunition, spare parts, and tactical

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PROGRESSIVES FOR THE VIET CONG

"The range of debate was, if you were in favor of getting out of Vietnam tomorrow and kicking ROTC off all the campuses, and believed that the U.S. should hang its head in shame over the Vietnam War, then you were a fascist. If you wanted to bomb all the U.S. military installations and actively exult at a victory of the Viet Cong, then you were a progressive."

— from a March 5, 1997 *Washington Post* interview in which James Fallows describes opinion at Harvard during his student days there in the late-1960s

weapons needed to continue their own defense. Despite the fact that the 1973 Paris Peace Accords called specifically for "unlimited military replacement aid" for South Vietnam, by March the House Democratic Caucus voted overwhelmingly, 189-49, against any additional military assistance to Vietnam or Cambodia.

The rhetoric of the antiwar Left during these debates was filled with condemnation of America's war-torn allies, and promises of a better life for them under the Communism that was sure to follow. Then-Congressman Christopher Dodd typified the hopeless naiveté of his peers when he intoned that "calling the Lon Nol regime an ally is to debase the word.... The greatest gift our country can give to the Cambodian people is peace, not guns. And the best way to accomplish that goal is by ending military aid now." Tom Downey, having become a foreign policy expert in the two months since being freed from his mother's apron strings, pooh-poohed the coming Cambodian holocaust that would kill more than one-third of the country's population, saying, "The administration has warned that if we leave there will be a bloodbath. But to warn of a new bloodbath is no justification for extending the current bloodbath."

On the battlefields of Vietnam the elimination of all U.S. logistical support was stunning and unanticipated news. South Vietnamese commanders had been assured of material support as the American military withdrew—the same sort of aid the U.S. routinely provided allies from South Korea to West Germany—and of renewed U.S. air strikes if the North attacked the South in violation of the 1973 Paris Peace Accords. Now they were staring at a terrifyingly uncertain future, even as the Soviets continued to assist the Communist North.

As the shocked and demoralized South Vietnamese military sought to readjust its forces to cope with serious shortages, the newly refurbished North Vietnamese immediately launched a major offensive. Catching many units out of position, the North rolled down the countryside over a 55-day period. In the ensuing years I have interviewed South Vietnamese survivors of these battles, many of whom spent ten years and more in Communist concentration camps after the war. The litany is continuous: "I had no ammunition." "I was down to three artillery rounds per tube per day." "I had nothing to give my soldiers." "I had to turn off my radio because I could no longer bear to hear their calls for help."

The reaction in the United States to this debacle defines two distinct camps that continue to be identifiable in many of the issues we face today. For most of those who fought in Vietnam, and for their families, friends, and political compatriots, this was a dark and deeply depressing month. The faces we saw running in terror from the North Vietnamese assault were real and familiar, not simply video images. The bodies that fell like spinning snowflakes toward cruel deaths after having clung hopelessly to the outer parts of departing helicopters and aircraft may have been people we knew or tried to help. Even for those who had lost their faith in America's ability to defeat the Communists, this was not the way it was supposed to end.

For those who had evaded the war and come of age believing our country was somehow evil, even as they romanticized the intentions of the Communists, these few weeks brought denials of their own responsibility in the debacle, armchair criticisms of the South Vietnamese military, or open celebrations. At the Georgetown University Law Center where I was a student, the North's blatant discarding of the promises of peace and elections contained in the 1973 Paris Accords, followed by the rumbling of North Vietnamese tanks through the streets of Saigon, was treated by many as a cause for actual rejoicing.

Denial is rampant in 1997, but the truth is this end result was the very goal of the antiwar movement's continuing efforts in the years after American withdrawal. George McGovern, more forthcoming than most, bluntly stated as much to this writer during a break in taping a 1995 edition of CNN's "Crossfire." After I had argued that the war was clearly winnable even toward the end if we had changed our strategy, the 1972 presidential candidate who had offered to go to Hanoi on his knees commented, "What you don't understand is that I didn't want us to win that war." Mr. McGovern was not alone. He was part of a small but extremely influential minority who eventually had their way.

There is perhaps no greater testimony to the celebratory atmosphere that surrounded the Communist victory in Vietnam than the 1975 Academy Awards, which took place on

HARVARD HATES AMERICAN SOLDIERS

One way the students at Harvard showed their guilt about their privilege and safety was to scorn those who went to Vietnam, and when the war was over, to shun them. Al Gore, who volunteered for Vietnam after his graduation in 1969, recalled the time in the following September when he returned to Cambridge on leave. "My hair was cut short," he said, "and I wore my uniform. I walked through the streets of Cambridge, and I became so angry at the presumption of those who instantly shouted epithets and sneered."

—from *Coming Apart: America and the Harvard Riots of 1969*, by Roger Rosenblatt, 1997

James Webb, a Marine rifle platoon and company commander in Vietnam, has served as Secretary of the Navy and is the author of several novels.

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April 8, just three weeks before the South's final surrender. The award for Best Feature Documentary went to the film *Hearts and Minds*, a vicious piece of propaganda that assailed American cultural values as well as our effort to assist South Vietnam's struggle for democracy. The producers, Peter Davis and Bert Schneider [who plays a role in David Horowitz's story—see page 31], jointly accepted the Oscar. Schneider was frank in his support of the Communists. As he stepped to the mike he commented that "It is ironic that we are here at a time just before Vietnam is about to be *liberated*." Then came one of the most stunning—if intentionally forgotten—moments in Hollywood history. As a struggling country many Americans had paid blood and tears to try to preserve was disappearing beneath a tank onslaught, Schneider pulled out a telegram from our enemy, the Vietnamese Communist delegation in Paris, and read aloud its congratulations to his film. Without hesitating, Hollywood's most powerful people rewarded Schneider's reading of the telegram with a standing ovation.

Those of us who either fought in Vietnam or supported our efforts there look at this 1975 "movie moment" with unforgetting and unmitigated amazement. Who were these people who so energetically poisoned the rest of the world's view of us? How had they turned so virulently against their own countrymen? How could they stand and applaud the victory of a Communist enemy who had taken 58,000 American lives and crushed a struggling, pro-democratic ally? Could they and the rest of us be said to be living in the same country anymore?

Not a peep was heard then, or since, from Hollywood regarding the people who disappeared behind Vietnam's bamboo curtain. No one has ever mentioned the concentration camps into which a million South Vietnamese soldiers were sent; 56,000 to die, 250,000 to stay for more than six years, and some for as long as 18. No one criticized the forced relocations, the corruption, or the continuing police state. More to the point, with the exception of the well-intentioned but artistically weak *Hamburger Hill*, one searches in vain for a single major film since that time that has portrayed American soldiers in Vietnam with dignity and in a true context.

Why? Because the film community, as with other elites, never liked, respected, or even understood those who answered

"IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT AMERICA SHOULD LOSE THE WAR."

In 1972, the radical magazine *Ramparts* published classified information revealing that a secret U.S. security agency had cracked the Soviet intelligence code and was reading Russian electronic communications at will. "Agents were killed when such secrets were at stake," writes *Ramparts* editor David Horowitz in his recently published memoir *Radical Son*. Also, "by revealing to the Soviets that their security had been breached, we alerted them that they needed to repair it.... For me, the overriding justification for publishing the article was one that weighed heavily on all the political decisions I made: It was important that America should lose the war.... I was convinced that America's loss would be Vietnam's gain. An American defeat would weaken oppression everywhere."

Prior to publication, *Ramparts* editors panicked that they could go to jail for publishing the information, so they sought assistance from Harvard professor Charles Nesson. Then, armed with "advice from a famous constitutional law professor on how to commit treason and get away with it," they printed the revelations.

Many other radicals also worked actively for U.S. defeat, Horowitz notes. "Saul Landau volunteered himself as an agent of the Castro regime. Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda went to North Vietnam and urged American troops to defect." Even many everyday liberals got swept up in the era's anti-American feeling, says Horowitz, illustrating this with a personal story:

"In 1973, while the Communists were pressing their advantage in South Vietnam, I spoke at a convocation at Robert Hutchins' Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. It was held in a Washington, D.C. ballroom, with a thousand people in attendance. I stepped up to the microphone and began a peroration:

> We are not yet disengaged from the most criminal war in our history, a war against a technologically defenseless people which—let us not mince words—ranks with the worst atrocities ever committed by one portion of the human race against another.... This [war has] its roots...in the very character of the American enterprise and ambition...Vietnam is not so much a betrayal of the American tradition as its fulfillment.

When I finished, the audience of comfortable, middle-class professionals rose to its feet and gave me a standing ovation....

My speech illustrated the real importance of Vietnam to the radical cause, which was not ultimately about Vietnam but about our own antagonism to America, our desire for *revolution*. Vietnam served to justify the desire; we needed the war and its violent images to vindicate our destructive intentions. That was why the victory of our 'anti-war' movement seemed so hollow when it came. The peace killed the very energies that gave our movement life."

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the call and served. And at a time when a quiet but relentless battle is taking place over how history will remember our country's involvement in Vietnam, those who ridiculed government policy, avoided military service, and actively supported an enemy who turned out to be vicious and corrupt do not want to be remembered as having been so naive and so wrong.

Among everyday Americans, attitudes during this troubled time were much healthier. Behind the media filtering and distortion on Vietnam, the fact is that our citizenry agreed far more consistently with those of us who fought than with those who undermined our fight. This was especially true, interestingly, among the young Americans now portrayed as having rebelled against the war.

As reported in *Public Opinion*, Gallup surveys from 1966 to the end of U.S. involvement show that younger Americans actually supported the Vietnam war longer than any other age group. Even by January of 1973, when 68 percent of Americans over the age of 50 believed it had been a mistake to send troops to Vietnam, only 49 percent of those between 25 and 29 agreed. These findings that the youth cohort as a whole was distinctly unradical were buttressed by 1972 election results—where 18- to 29-year-olds preferred Richard Nixon to George McGovern by 52 to 46 percent.

Similarly, despite persistent allegations to the contrary by former protesters who now dominate media and academia, the 1970 invasion of Cambodia—which caused widespread campus demonstrations, including a riot that led to four deaths at Kent State University—was strongly supported by the public. According to Harris surveys, nearly 6 in 10 Americans believed the Cambodian invasion was justified. A majority in that same May 1970 survey supported an immediate *resumption* of bombings in North Vietnam, a complete repudiation of the antiwar movement.

Vietnam veterans, though persistently maligned in film, news reports, and classrooms as unwilling, unsuccessful soldiers, have been well thought of by average Americans. In the most comprehensive study ever done on Vietnam vets (Harris Survey, 1980, commissioned by the Veterans Administration), 73 percent of the general public and 89 percent of Vietnam veterans agreed with the statement that "The trouble in Vietnam was that our troops were asked to fight in a war which our political leaders in Washington would not let them win." Seventy percent of those who fought in Vietnam *disagreed* with the statement "It is shameful what my country did to the Vietnamese people." Fully 91 percent of those who served in Vietnam combat stated that they were glad they had served their country, and 74 percent said they had enjoyed their time in the military. Moreover, 71 percent of those who expressed an opinion indicated that they would go to Vietnam again, even knowing the end result and the ridicule that would be heaped on them when they returned.

This same survey contained what was called a "feelings thermometer," measuring the public's attitudes toward various groups on a scale of 1 to 10. Veterans who served in Vietnam rated a 9.8 on this scale. Doctors scored a 7.9, TV reporters a 6.1, politicians a 5.2, antiwar demonstrators a 5.0, and draft evaders who went to Canada came in at 3.3.

Contrary to persistent mythology, two-thirds of those who served during Vietnam were volunteers rather than draftees, and 77 percent of those who died were volunteers. Of those who died, 86 percent were Caucasian, 12.5 percent were African-American, and 1.2 percent were from other races. The common claim that it was minorities and the poor who were left to do the dirty work of military service in Vietnam is false. The main imbalance in the war was simply that the privileged avoided their obligations, and have persisted since that time in demeaning the experience in order to protect themselves from the judgment of history.

And what of these elites who misread not only a war but also their own countrymen? Where are they now, other than in the White House? On this vital historical issue that defined our generation, they now keep a low profile, and well they should.

What an eerie feeling it must have been for those who staked the journey of their youth on the idea that their own country was an evil force, to have watched their naiveté unravel in the years following 1975. How sobering it must have been for those who allowed themselves to move beyond their natural denial, to observe the spectacle of hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese fleeing the "pure flame of the revolution" on rickety boats that gave them a 50 percent chance of death at sea, or to see television pictures of thousands of Cambodian skulls lying in open fields, part of the millions killed by Communist "liberators." How hollow the memories of drug-drenched and sex-enshrined antiwar rallies must be; how false the music that beatified their supposedly noble dissent.

Indeed, let's be frank. How secretly humiliating to stare into the face of a disabled veteran, or to watch the valedictory speech of the latest Vietnamese-American kid whose late father fought alongside the Americans in a cause they openly mocked, derided, and despised. And what a shame that the system of government that allowed that student to be so quickly successful here is not in place in the country of her origin.

❧

DISDAIN FOR ONE'S OWN DEFENDERS

> Cambridge professors and Manhattan lawyers and their guitar-strumming children...privileged members of a privileged nation, believed that their pleasant position could be maintained without anything visibly ugly happening in the world. They were full of aesthetic disdain for their own defenders.... The protesters were spitting on the cops who were trying to keep their property—the USA and its many amenities—intact. A common report in this riotous era was of slum-dwellers throwing rocks and bottles at the firemen come to put out fires; the peace marchers, the upper-middle-class housewives pushing baby carriages along in candlelit processions, seemed to me to be behaving identically, without the excuse of being slum-dwellers.
>
> — from "On Not Being a Dove,"
> by John Updike, *Commentary*, March 1989

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A RUINED LIFE

WHY THERE IS NO PLACE IN OUR FUTURE FOR THE CULTURE OF THE 1960s

by Dave Geisler

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Currently there is a phenomenon called "rave parties" that essentially try to bring back the 1960s counterculture in fashion, drug use, and attitudes. I can't understand this, myself. From observing the life of my older brother Charlie (not his real name), who was a teenager in the 1960s, it's unfathomable to me why anyone would wish for the 1960s to come back. They were devastating enough the first time around.

When my teenage brother took his first LSD trip, it changed the lives of my family forever. Charlie wrote in a letter to his girlfriend that his experience with the drug was a bummer, that he had felt he was being swarmed and repeatedly stung by bees. What had really stung my brother were the ideas launched in the 1960s by cultural prophets like the Beatles—who instructed him and other American youths, through their music and their own drug-taking habits, to "turn off their minds, relax, and float downstream," visit "strawberry fields where nothing is real," and "picture yourself on a boat on a river" with Lucy In The Sky With Diamonds (which, fans noticed, shortens to LSD).

Because of the flashback effects of the drug, my brother gets a free LSD trip for the rest of his life. A man who once had a genius-level IQ, Charlie has been relegated to living on welfare and odd jobs. His experiences with marijuana, amphetamines, and acid have caused him to be hospitalized at the cost of thousands of dollars, first at my parents' expense and now at the government's.

Charlie and other kids read magazine articles in the '60s presenting Dr. Timothy Leary's use of LSD as interesting and experimental. (Until his death in 1996, Leary was active in the new "rave" movement of the '90s.) My brother lapped this up, along with the Beatles, Jimmy Hendrix, and the drug-soaked comedy of Cheech and Chong. Charlie and many others modeled themselves on the musical "Hair," read *Rolling Stone* and the *LA Free Press* (no matter where they lived) and were encouraged by all of these sources to indulge in full-blown cultural rebellion.

The great love of my brother's life has been marijuana, and it has taken much more from him than it has given. Along with many brain cells, his motivation and ambition to be a productive member of society have pretty much gone up in smoke. His only act of ambition since becoming a drug user has been to sell the marijuana he is so fond of to other people. Charlie's drug problems and violent episodes once got him committed to a state hospital. Through some of his friends, he was even able to get marijuana inside the hospital, actually selling it to other patients to the point where the hospital did not want him back

My parents, like many who grew up in the Depression, served in World War II, and then came home to rebuild America and raise families, were in no way prepared to raise the rebellious, self-centered Baby Boomers of the 1960s. Many turned for advice to experts who counseled a permissive attitude toward children. Later these parents were plagued by selfish monsters to whom they had become servants.

My parents wanted to give their children material things and life advantages they had never known themselves while growing up. They didn't count on their generosity coinciding with a cultural upheaval that washed away many of the bulwarks of personal restraint and responsibility. How could they have anticipated that?

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Charlie was a middle child in our family. I've heard it said that middle children spend their lives trying to find their identity. If so, the 1960s was a decade filled with middle children. One thing Charlie did know was what he *didn't* want to be—like my father, who was a solid professional and businessman. Charlie also didn't want to go into the military and fight in Vietnam, yet he was so self-centered that he wouldn't perform government service as a conscientious objector either. When the draft lottery made him vulnerable, he decided to abuse drugs to the point where he would be ineligible for military service.

Drugs like LSD and amphetamines (speed) make people behave in ways that are unpredictable and scary. Once while on speed, Charlie punched and kicked our father to the point where he damaged his ribs. He would also use profanity, slap our mother, and smash her wedding china. He would steal money from my parents. My badly stressed parents got prescriptions for tranquilizers and sleeping pills, and my brother stole those, overdosing on them. My parents eventually had locks placed on all the doors in our house. Living with Charlie was a nightmare. At school I got involved in every extra-curricular activity I could so that I wouldn't have to spend time at home when Charlie was there. Home became a place to escape.

My father finally had to publicly disown Charlie as his son. Charlie became dependent on the government, with medical and accident bills piling up. Occasionally he would hold a job delivering pizzas or cleaning offices, but he was much happier to let the taxpayers take care of his living expenses.

This was a totally different set of values from my parents, who viewed the idea of being on public assistance as a total disgrace. Both of my parents worked long and hard to avoid ever having to rely on the government. True 1930s babies, they worked, saved, and invested as if the next economic depression was just around the corner.

Our family eventually concluded that it was necessary to leave the house my parents had worked for to move to an apartment in another suburb where we wouldn't be victims of Charlie's drug-induced tantrums. When we were able, both my oldest brother and I escaped to different states to be away from Charlie.

Charlie, now 44, had an opportunity to go to college and get a degree, but turned it down in favor of using and selling hallucinogens and living off of federal and state welfare payments for a quarter-century. And so the Great Society programs launched by Lyndon Johnson in the name of a minority underclass allowed a burned-out middle class white kid to continue his "countercultural, alternative" lifestyle. Charlie gets Food Stamps, general assistance, and medical care. Most of his income comes from the Social Security Disability Income (SSDI) program.

Until very recently, it was perfectly acceptable for people on SSDI to have drug habits and still be able to collect their government benefits. Now they have to hide them more carefully. Charlie has been involved in a government vocational/technical "training program" for several years, but still doesn't have an occupation that would enable him to live without government aid. My oldest brother, who works in hotel and restaurant management, has frequently offered to get Charlie restaurant jobs that could lead to a supervisory position, but Charlie has refused these opportunities because he "didn't want to mess up his government benefits." If Charlie gets cancer from the marijuana and cigarettes he has smoked for years, the taxpayers will have another bill to pay for his medical treatment.

> The great love of my brother's life has been marijuana, and it has taken much more from him than it has given. Along with many brain cells, his motivation and ambition to be a productive member of society have pretty much gone up in smoke.

There are people in America who believe that cultural icons like musicians, actors and actresses, and writers have no influence on the behavior of people in everyday life. There are people who don't believe that songs, films, or television programs have the power to inspire people to real-life copycat behaviors. But I know how deeply my brother loved and was influenced by, in particular, the Beatles and their songs. After they tried LSD, he tried LSD, because he wanted to be like them.

If the people who make Gatorade find it worth their while to spend millions encouraging kids to "Be like Mike" by drinking their product, they must have discovered that the ads cause their sales to go up. Why is it so hard for people to believe that kids will sometimes engage in bad behavior too because they want to be like their heroes?

Americans need to be careful about the figures they lift up and the behavior they honor. Government leaders need to be careful about the programs they propose. If the 1960s have taught us anything it should be to be skeptical of world-reordering schemes brought forward by cultural idols and politicians. We should also realize that public solutions to behavioral problems will never work unless they stimulate a person's individual desire to make a better life for himself through his own efforts, rather than creating destructive dependencies and enabling people to continue bad habits. We are still suffering in this country from the effects of cultural and political decisions made thirty years ago. I suggest it's time to do what we can to say goodbye to the '60s forever.

Myself, when I hear about teenagers and adults from various parts of the country attending "raves" and wishing that the 1960s would come back, I think of the movie "Field Of Dreams." One of my favorite parts of that film is when Kevin Costner, a former '60s hippie, drops in on James Earl Jones, a former subversive writer. In response to Costner's visit, Jones takes out a pesticide sprayer and sprays his uninvited guest, hollering "Get out! Go back to the '60s! There is no place for you here in the future!"

If only we had such a sprayer to eliminate the dumb ideas, bad examples, evil policies, and foolish cultural trends and personal habits that still haunt us—some of us quite personally—as remnants of the '60s today.

Dave Geisler is a writer living in southern California.

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BY FRED BARNES

WHAT DID YOU DO IN THE '60s?

What did America's leaders of the '90s do in the 1960s? Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott was a cheerleader at the University of Mississippi. Republican Rep. Jim Bunning of Kentucky, a likely Senate candidate in 1998, was a major league pitcher who threw no-hitters in both the American and National Leagues. Bill Clinton graduated from Georgetown University in 1968 and became a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, where he led antiwar protests. Pursuing a clever campaign, he avoided the draft. Hillary was more prominent in the '60s. At Wellesley College she participated in antiwar activities, got to know Robert Reich (later Labor Secretary), and appeared several times on College Bowl, an academic TV show. In 1969, her graduation speech chiding her elders (especially Sen. Ed Brooke of Massachusetts, who'd spoken just before her) drew national attention. In 1970, she packed off to Yale Law School, where she met Bill.

Here's what sixteen other national leaders did in the '60s:

Ole Miss Varsity Cheerleader turned Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (bottom row, second from right)

Buying Time for Asian Democracy, and American Business

FRED SMITH

'90s Fred Smith is founder and president of Federal Express.
'60s Raised in Memphis, Smith joined the Marines after attending Yale, class of '66, and served until 1970. While in Vietnam, he says, "I had a chance to think a lot" about starting FedEx, which he first dreamed up while writing an undergraduate economics paper. In his first Vietnam tour, Smith served as a groundpounding platoon leader and company commander; in his second, as a forward air controller. He led troops against the North Vietnamese Army, not ragtag guerrillas. "They were uniformed, well-armed, and very disciplined," he says. "I had a great deal of admiration for them. They were probably the best infantry in the world." He won the Purple Heart.

Not politically involved, Smith occasionally dropped by the Yale Political Union, where he heard classmate John Kerry, now a liberal Democratic senator from Massachusetts, deliver diatribes "the same way he does now." Smith has a "contrarian view" of American intervention in Vietnam: He thinks it worked. The war was "absurdly prosecuted" by President Johnson, but "it probably bought enough time for the Asian countries to move toward democracy and capitalism." He's "pretty confident" that absent the war, countries like Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines would have fallen to communism.

Terrified into Starvation

JAMES FALLOWS

'90s James Fallows recently took over as editor of *U.S. News & World Report.*
'60s At Harvard and holding a draft number that made him likely to be summoned, he starved his six-foot, one-inch frame down to 120 pounds and feigned suicidal tendencies in order to avoid mili-

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tary service. "To answer the call was unthinkable," he wrote some months after the fall of Saigon, "not only because, in my heart, I was desperately afraid of being killed, but also because, among my friends, it was axiomatic that one should not be 'complicit' in the immoral war effort." When the examining doctor announced he was unqualified, "I was overcome by a wave of relief, which...revealed to me how great my terror had been, and by the beginning of the sense of shame which remains with me to this day."

Today the Campus, Tomorrow the World

IRA MAGAZINER

'90s Picked by Hillary Rodham Clinton, Ira Magaziner cooks up a numbingly complicated and ill-fated plan to remake all U.S. health care.

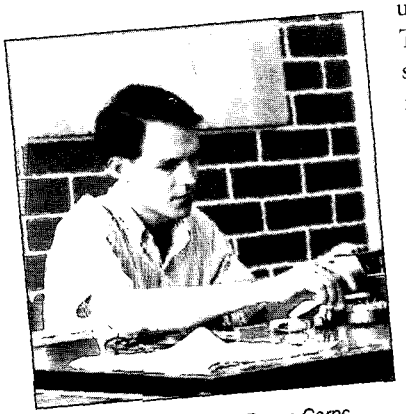
'60s A civil rights activist in high school, Magaziner entered Brown University in 1965. He and a partner then wrote a 400-page report that criticized Brown's curriculum for a lack of "meaningfulness," demanded students be allowed to construct their own course of study, and called for abolishing course requirements and grades. Magaziner eventually forced most of the program through in 1969. In his valedictory speech at graduation, he urged students to oppose the Vietnam War by turning their backs on Secretary of State Kissinger as he received an honorary degree. Most did. Magaziner then went to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar and was befriended by Bill Clinton. Upon returning to the U.S. in 1971, he and some colleagues decided to completely reshape the town of Brockton, Massachusetts—"a naive, ineffective attempt," he later admitted, because "we overreacted against big business." By the end of the decade he was earning $600 an hour as a management consultant and writing books with Robert Reich and others urging that the national economy be managed via government "industrial policies." One co-author describes him as "messianic."

Do-gooder, Thai-style

CHARLES MURRAY

'90s Charles Murray, a leading advocate of conservative welfare reform, has just published a libertarian manifesto, following on his book *The Bell Curve.*

'60s A 1965 graduate of Harvard, where he was DJ and president of the radio station, he joined the Peace Corps and ended up spending five years in Thailand. There, he observed that rural villages functioned best when outside entities refrained from excessive interference in their affairs. This began an interest in decentralism that eventually led him to lose "sympathy with the American Left."



Charles Murray in the Peace Corps, Songkhla, Thailand 1966

Bell-bottom Business

TOMMY HILFIGER

'90s Tommy Hilfiger's clothing can be found in nearly every department store and is popular with President Clinton, singer Snoop Doggy Dogg, and many other gangsta rappers.

'60s Born in upstate New York in Elmira, a town he calls "Leave It to Beaver-land," Hilfiger resisted his father's entreaties to go to college, drawn instead to hippiedom. His sartorial entrepreneurship began after high school, when "everyone was listening to great music—the Stones, the Beatles, the Who." As he explained to one interviewer, "I and all my friends wanted to *look* like them. Problem was, in Elmira you couldn't find a pair of bell-bottoms to save your life." So he went to New York City, picked up 20 pairs, and returned home to sell them out of his trunk. An empire was born.

Turbulence Sells

SAM DONALDSON

'90s Scourge of presidents, Sam Donaldson appears on ABC-TV's *Prime Time Live* and *This Week.*

'60s After growing up in El Paso, Texas, graduating from Texas Western University, and serving in the Army, Donaldson got his first TV job in Dallas. He quit to try his chances in New York. Jobless for 7 months, he gave up. Coming to Washington in 1961, he began as a summer relief announcer at a radio station. Though a local reporter, he covered national stories like the civil rights debate, Barry Goldwater's campaign, race riots, and the election of Spiro Agnew as Maryland governor ("he was a good guy"). In 1967, Donaldson became a national correspondent with ABC.

For him, the '60s were one thing only—a great story. He covered Bobby Kennedy's assassination and funeral and the 1968 conventions. "The '60s were exciting, turbulent.... I thought that's what journalism was." But by decade's end, "I was one of those who thought you couldn't trust anything [leaders] say."

"I did not partake"

COKIE ROBERTS

'90s Cokie Roberts hosts ABC-TV's *This Week.*

'60s Graduating from Wellesley in 1964, married by 1966, Roberts feels like she came of age just before the '60s really mushroomed into existence. "Being at Wellesley in my era was no different from being there from 1914 to 1918," she says. "It was more like the '50s than the '60s. No sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll. And everybody got married right away." The "real legacy of the '60s" that turned her expectations "upside down" was the women's movement, which was "terribly beneficial." But there was a downside, notably "the promiscuousness in which I certainly did not partake," and the loss of patriotism. "The people who prosecuted the war in Vietnam and protested the war both did a disservice in terms of patriotism," Roberts suggests.

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From Hijacker to Wall Streeter

THOMAS W. JONES

'90s President of TIAA-CREF, world's largest private pension fund.
'60s In 1969, Jones became a national symbol of black student protest as he led more than 100 black students in the takeover of Cornell's student union. One thing made this college protest different: the students brought in guns. As sheriff's deputies gathered nearby, Jones, then 19, issued an ultimatum: "In the past it has been the black people who have done all the dying. Now the time has come when the pigs are going to die, too. We are moving tonight. Cornell has until nine o'clock to live. It is now three minutes after eight." Jones, brandishing a rifle and raising a clenched fist, was the last student to leave the student union when the takeover finally ended without violence.

Thomas Jones, future Cornell Trustee, on campus

No charges were ever filed against Jones or his cohorts, and Jones not only received his degree a few weeks later but stayed on at Cornell to earn a master's in regional planning. Later he went to Wall Street, "a sellout" according to fellow Cornellian Edward Whitfield. Jones has since expressed regret over the armed takeover. Still, he says, "given the way things played out in that historical period, I made the best decisions I could make under the circumstances, and I will not repudiate that 25 years later." When named a Cornell trustee in 1993, Jones said he was "probably one of the most outstanding nominees the board could identify.... I've had an outstanding career."

Brick Throwers for Peace

AL D'AMATO

'90s Sen. Al D'Amato (R-N.Y.) chairs the Senate Banking Committee.
'60s After graduating from Syracuse University in 1961 with a B.A. and law degree earned in six years, D'Amato worked as a Long Island lawyer before his 1969 election as Nassau County's tax receiver. The music, drugs, protests, and cultural changes of the decade angered him. In 1969, a Vietnam protester tore down the American flag out in front of his office and tossed a brick through his window. "I'll never forget it," he says. "It left an impression on me." The '60s were "nasty. It brought out the worst in people. It *didn't leave a mark* on our country we could be proud of."

Our Panthers, Our Selves

CATHARINE MACKINNON

'90s Catharine MacKinnon, a prominent feminist law professor, crusades against female exploitation and "patriarchy."
'60s Daughter of a Republican politician who had advised the presidential campaigns of Eisenhower and Nixon, she graduated from Smith in 1969, then protested against the Vietnam War at Yale Law School, studied martial arts, and worked with the Black Panthers. She also created Yale's first women's studies course and co-founded a lawyer's collective.

Losing our Compass

BRIAN LAMB

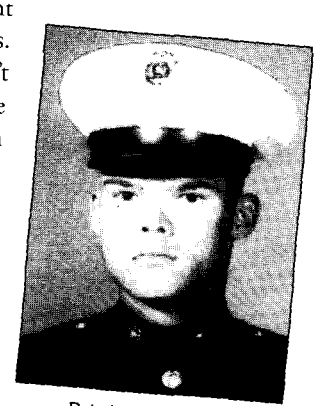
'90s Brian Lamb is founder of, and ubiquitous commentator on, C-SPAN.
'60s Lamb grew up in Lafayette, Indiana, got into broadcasting as a high school DJ, and hosted a local TV dance show while at Purdue. Graduating in '63, he went into the Navy. In 1968, he worked for the Nixon campaign, then returned to radio after the election. Concluding that too little news was being broadcast by the TV networks, Lamb set up a bureau to feed information programs to local cable outlets. But the project was ahead of its time; technology was lacking.

The '60s were a "growing-up" period for Lamb. As a naval officer, he worked on the periphery of power, and what he saw disillusioned him. "We gave out a lot of misinformation getting us in [Vietnam] and a lot of misinformation getting out." During the '60s the country "got out of whack. I tend to think they are when we lost our compass. A tremendous amount of distrust was created. I don't think my generation will ever get over it."

Cajun in Uniform

JAMES CARVILLE

'90s Chief strategist in President Clinton's 1992 campaign, James Carville still advises the President and tries to protect him from independent counsels.
'60s Carville says he did five things in the '60s: "I went to school. I flunked out of school. I taught school. I was in the Marine Corps. And I got drunk." In truth, it wasn't quite *that* uncomplicated. Carville grew up in a small Louisiana town and entered Louisiana State University in 1962. In 1966 he left, involuntarily and without a degree, for the Marines, with the blessing of his patriotic, pro-military family.



Pvt. James Carville, between college and Clinton

In his two years of service he never went to Vietnam. "By the time I got out of the Marines, I'd become pretty disenchanted with the war. It was a lyin' ass war." Returning to LSU, Carville studied part time while working full time as an elementary school teacher. He views the '60s as good and bad. Having been cured of racism by

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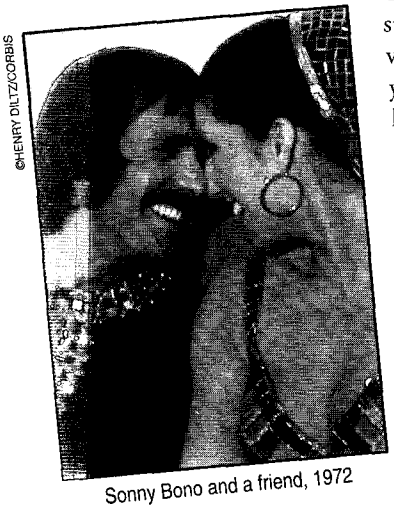
reading *To Kill a Mockingbird*, he believes the civil rights movement was the good part. The bad, he says, "was the start of family breakdown. That's the worst thing that's happened to America since I can remember."

The Square Hippie

SONNY BONO

'90s Member of the Republican tide of '94, Rep. Sonny Bono commutes between Palm Springs, California, and Washington.
'60s Yes, Bono wooed, wed, and sang with Cher in the '60s. But he also had a fleeting political career. In 1968, he mingled in Chicago's Grant Park with antiwar demonstrators at the Democratic convention. Bono wanted to form a youth commission to encourage kids to reject drugs and respect institutions—an unpopular message in the park. "If I hadn't gotten out of there, I'd have gotten a brick in my head," he says. That fall, he, actor Lee Majors, and singer Chubby Checker went on Democratic presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey's campaign tour as "the token celebs." Later, he spoke at a youth rally in Los Angeles—Bono was 38—urging kids to work inside "the system." He was booed. And Jane Fonda interrupted his talk. "She just shot me down," he says. That ended his political involvement for two decades, until he was elected mayor of Palm Springs in 1988 as a Republican. "Even though I was a hippie then, I still believed in the system and right and wrong. I was always a conservative." Bono says the '60s were great, but only musically.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Sonny Bono and a friend, 1972

Prep School Revolutionary

CHRISTOPHER BUCKLEY

'90s Editor of *Forbes FYI*, Christopher Buckley also writes novels and essays.
'60s Born in 1952, the son of conservative icon William F. Buckley, he claims he "missed the '60s," though that's not quite true. "I was locked in a Benedictine boarding school in Rhode Island...on my knees on a cold stone floor praying my soul would not burn in hell." But not all the time. "We were also smoking dope in the woods." He read James Baldwin and tutored inner-city kids too. And he chattered opposition to the war in Vietnam. That culminated in a protest of Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia in 1970. Students wore black armbands on their blazers, "one of the more pathetic scenes of class revolution," Buckley says. "All right, what exactly are you protesting?" a history teacher asked. When no one could give a good answer, the protest fizzled.

"People seemed to be having a lot of fun," but the '60s were a "virus lodged most perniciously in academe. The frizzy hairs of yore are now the tenured professors." At 19, Buckley was delighted his asthma kept him out of the Army. Now guilt has set in. In 1983, he attended the dedication of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington. He saw a Marine in ceremonial dress wander away from the crowd, take off his glasses, and weep. "I felt I had no business there," Buckley wrote, "so I left the grounds."

From Cells to Socialism

BARBARA EHRENREICH

'90s Barbara Ehrenreich's left-wing essays appear in *Time* and elsewhere.
'60s Working on a doctorate in cell biology, she began protesting the Vietnam War in 1965. "I got swept up in the antiwar movement," she explained to an interviewer. "I went into college as someone who loved the existentialists, had a soft spot in my heart for Ayn Rand, had no social or political views of any kind. Then...the war in Vietnam, the civil rights movement, those got me involved." In 1972 she wrote *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers*. After divorcing her husband and moving to Long Island, she joined a group that later grew into the Democratic Socialists of America.

Right Turn at Harvard

WILLIAM BENNETT

'90s Former Education Secretary and drug czar William Bennett now does battle in the culture wars.
'60s At Williams College in the early '60s, Bennett wanted to join the New Left group Students for a Democratic Society. "Don't do it," advised his brother Bob (now President Clinton's lawyer). When Bill asked why not, his brother answered: "Some day you may want a job when it'll make a difference." Later, when he was nominated by President Reagan to run the National Endowment for the Humanities, Bennett visited Sen. Jesse Helms, who ran down a list of left-wing groups and asked if Bennett had been a member of any. "No, sir, not me," said Bennett proudly.

Bill Bennett on the line at Williams College (middle of top row)

Not joining SDS was the closest thing to a conservative act Bennett committed in the '60s. He did graduate work at the University of Texas, having been recommended by leftie Rev. William Sloane Coffin. He taught for a year at the University of Southern Mississippi, where his contract was not renewed. "Go back to Moscow, you big radial," a student said in a note tacked to Bennett's door. (No, he wasn't calling Bennett a tire; the student mispelled radical.)

Out of work, Bennett went to Harvard Law School, where his views began to change. The intellectual turning point was the antiwar student strike at Harvard in 1969. "I realized these people didn't want to change the country," he says, "they wanted to destroy it."

Fred Barnes is executive editor of The Weekly Standard. *In addition to personal interviews, this article is based on news reports and information from* Current Biography.

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American Citizen

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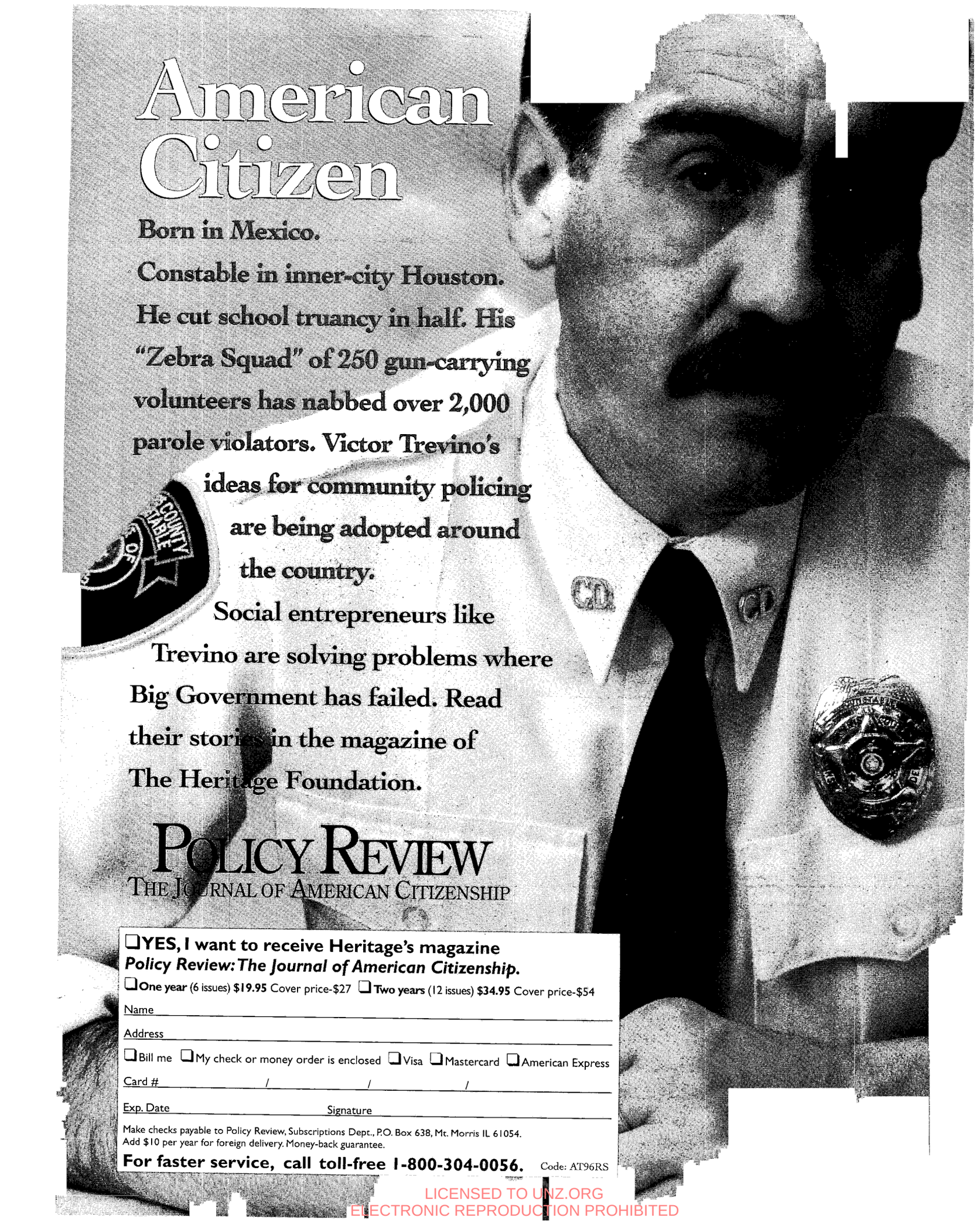

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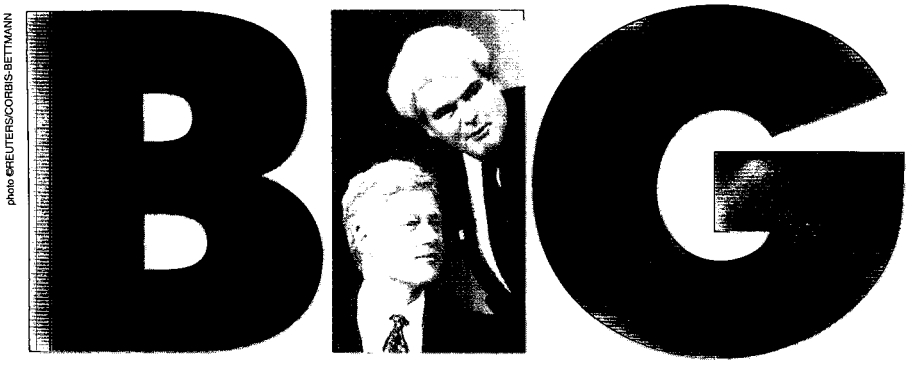
BY ARMSTRONG WILLIAMS

'60s KIDS GROWN BIG



The baby boomers have had quite a run on the national political stage. One of their number recently took the presidential oath of office for the second time—under ethical clouds that threaten to turn into a full-fledged storm. Meanwhile, another master politician of boomer origin was sanctioned for violating the ethical guidelines of the House of Representatives while serving as Speaker.

What are we to make of these men who have reached the political apex of their nation? Ideology aside, Clinton and Gingrich are mirror images of one another. Both are bright and hyper-ambitious. Both are articulate (to excess). Both show a tendency to turn cases of right and wrong into shades of malleable gray. Are these things unique to them, or are they perhaps generational traits?

As much as it pains me to admit this, I would argue the latter. Clinton and Gingrich are walking embodiments of the largest generation in America's history. Their adolescence gave us anti-war protests and campus rioting in the '60s; their early adulthood gave us New Age narcissism in the '70s and economic boom in the '80s. Now as they enter middle age, they are running this country.

What are we to make of these baby boomers? Former radicals Peter Collier and David Horowitz looked at the cohort who launched protests that led to the collapse of South Vietnam, who encouraged promiscuity that left us with rampant sexually transmitted diseases and tattered relationships, who indulged in "recreational" drugs that decimated inner cities and ruined childhoods. And their harsh judgment was that their fellow baby boomers were a "destructive generation."

I might not go quite that far—perhaps "dysfunctional generation" is better. Clinton and Gingrich, from opposite sides of the political spectrum, display the classic baby-boomer characteristic—acting as if venerable institutions, long-standing policies, and deep principles mean nothing. Instead, everything is personal. Each person can define for himself what is true, good, relevant. The slogan for this generation is and always has been, "If it feels good, do it!"

Many baby boomers have simply never grown up. When the first of them began to enter their fifth decade, the news was accompanied by profiles indicating that in terms of outlook this was the "youngest" group of Americans ever to reach 50!

Clinton and Gingrich are both products of broken homes and re-marriages. As compensation, the world has to revolve around them. Neither one knows how to stop talking. Recall that Clinton made his national debut at the 1988 Democratic Convention by giving the longest nominating address in history. Gingrich, meanwhile, built his career by babbling interminably to the C-SPAN cameras—Gingrich as star. Though each speaks of teamwork and community, one has the distinct impression that it is the "I" of Newt and Bill that each finds all-engrossing.

Is anyone surprised that Bill and Hillary Clinton are turning out to be deeply and personally involved in today's fundraising scandals? Their enthusiastic handwritten notes make it clear that they were the innovators who dreamed up the most outlandish schemes for generating slush money. As Bob Woodward describes in *The Agenda*, all that Clinton does and says has one powerful purpose: his own personal re-election.

In the dysfunctional generation, over and over again, rules are to be stretched and bent to the greatest degree possible; when caught, the individual member of the "best and brightest" plays dumb and obfuscates. We have seen it many times in the Clinton administration. We saw it this winter with Newt Gingrich, whose claims of naive innocence stretch credibility. Gingrich's supporters note that, unlike Jim Wright, the Speaker did not realize any money from his violation of House rules. That reminds me of Democrats who refer to the Clintons' Whitewater venture as a "land deal that lost money"; each excuse misses the real truth. Scandals involving this dysfunctional generation are often not about money. The currency they prize above all is self-aggrandizement. The goods most coveted by Clinton and Gingrich have been networks by which they could achieve the goals they set their sights on as youth—the Presidency and Speakership of the House.

Another attribute of this generation that must give all Americans pause is its creation of a false intimacy, which diminishes the stature of our political institutions. Clinton's promiscuous "I feel your pain" and "call me Bill" attitude are well known. Gingrich likewise invites people to refer to him as "Newt." It matters little how empathic these men are; it matters not at all how much they wish the entire world would be their friends. They have acted like the rest of their "Love Generation," and as a result we know far too much about these men. As the centuries-old adage tells us: Familiarity breeds contempt.

Americans need to prepare themselves for future years of baby-boom government. Yes, this is only the beginning. There will be more former '60s kids in the Senate and House. The Supreme Court will go in the same direction soon.

We must all learn to recognize the traits of the dysfunctional generation and strive to counteract them. We should also recognize and control these temptations inside ourselves. Only then will baby boomers be able to improve America with their many talents.

Armstrong Williams, a former aide to Justice Clarence Thomas, is a national T.V. talk show host and a nationally syndicated columnist.

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THE NEW LEFT TAKES OVER AMERICAN UNIONS

BY JOEL KOTKIN

Tom Hayden, an old friend, is wandering around the circle, looking for my house in the Hollywood hills. The street is blocked by a Los Angeles city sanitation truck—a union sticker slapped on its side—performing its appointed rounds. A young Latino sanitation worker comes leaping off the vehicle and approaches the graying '60s icon.

"Hey, Mr. Hayden, we're for you," the worker says, grasping the slightly rumpled mayoral candidate by the hand. "We're handing out literature, walking precincts."

Hayden seems pleased. He's been having a rough time in his quixotic campaign to dethrone L.A.'s Republican businessman mayor, Richard Riordan. Polls show he's down some 20 points, and even among organized labor and the minority community, most of the endorsements are going to Riordan.

Yet in the garbage worker—and other still largely unorganized low-wage laborers—Hayden sees the potential base for a revitalized radical movement. "Labor's been losing members and clout, but now we're seeing the rise of militant minority workers, mostly Latino, and a decline in the old labor establishment," Hayden insists. "Militancy is in the blood of these minority workers. It comes straight from Mexico and El Salvador."

As is true of many veterans of the 1960s, Tom Hayden's conversion to union backer has not come naturally. During the '60s, radicals more often saw organized labor as the enemy, the staunch ally of pro-Vietnam War Democrats like Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley, Washington's Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson, and the great B-52 dispatcher himself, Lyndon Johnson.

Yet even then a smaller group of college radicals, rejecting hippie garb for blue work shirts, decided that the future of the movement lay not with their long-haired schoolmates but with the laboring class. These included people such as David Wilhelm, a former student leader from Yale, who saw in the organizing of low-wage workers the best path to achieving radical social change. In contrast to the more lifestyle-oriented SDSers such as Hayden, the blue-work-shirt crowd eschewed the "individualism" of the "do your own thing" baby-boom generation and embraced a proletarian us-versus-them ideology redolent of the Depression era.

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Now, with the support of an increasingly left-wing AFL-CIO, Wilhelm and other former student radicals are no longer on the fringes but in the mainstream of a movement that's bringing class-warfare politics to the 1990s. "This period," says Wilhelm, who at 50 directs the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' highly successful Las Vegas operations, "now resembles the late 1920s and early 1930s."

The Long Slump and the Zealots

The penetration of labor by 1960s radicals, insiders note, came largely as a response to labor's diminishing clout during the 1970s and 1980s. Under Carter, whom labor largely despised, and even more so under Reagan, unions saw their numbers plummet. From 34.7 percent of the work force in the mid-1950s, union membership has fallen to less than 15 percent. Even worse, the shrinkage has affected many of the strongest and best-financed industrial unions—steel, autos, and, in the 1990s, aerospace workers. The United Auto Workers, a bastion of progressive unionism, has dropped from over a million in 1987 to under 800,000 today, despite the recovery of the American auto industry. The United Steel Workers, a million strong in 1975, now number less than half that. Other unions, such as the construction trades, have also declined as employment migrated from the Northeast and Midwest to far less union-friendly regions such as the South and the mountain West.

As the traditional industrial unions, with their intrinsic interest in economic growth, have declined, power within organized labor has shifted to the rising public-sector unions representing government workers and teachers, whose agenda, logically enough, centers on keeping the state large and well-funded. Since 1975 AF-SCME, the leading public employee union, has grown from a quarter-million to 1.2 million members. Forty-two percent of union members are now public employees, the most important shift in the labor movement in generations.

Like the industrial unions in the 1930s, the public-sector unions have pushed the entire labor movement to the left. The Service Employees International Union, or SEIU, has embraced organizations with a New Left origin, such as ACORN and Cleveland's Nine to Five, and has even set up its own gay and lesbian caucus. "Most of the radicals who went into labor ended up in the public employee unions," observes one labor official.

The rise of these unions led to the elevation of SEIU's boss, John Sweeney, to head of the labor federation. No George Meany-style bread-and-butter unionist, Sweeney is an advocate of European-style democratic socialism. He has opened the AFL-CIO to participation by delegates openly linked to the Communist Party, which enthusiastically backed his ascent. The U.S. Communist Party says it is now "in complete accord" with the AFL-CIO's program. "The radical shift in both leadership and policy is a very positive, even historic change," wrote CPUSA National Chairman Gus Hall in 1996 after the AFL-CIO convention.

That alone is enough to send shivers down the spines of many labor activists, particularly those old enough to remember the earlier struggles against the totalitarian left. "All the people we thought we got rid of 40 years ago are back in there," complains one Detroit area labor lawyer close to the United Auto Workers. "It's like the 1930s all over again."

The elevation of Sweeney swept in remnants of the old blue-work-shirt wing of the 1960s radical movement. After the Vietnam War era, many of these militants—people like Andy Stern, now a top official at SEIU—went to work inside the bureaucracies of the public employee unions, focusing particularly on agitation and media relations. Others forayed into organizing the growing number of low-wage workers, many of them black, Hispanic, or female. They joined such insurgent movements as the Janitors for Justice in Los Angeles; UNITE, the militant rump of the once-powerful garment workers' unions; and Wilhelm's Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

One result has been that U.S. unions are now active partisans in a variety of left-wing causes that have nothing to do with collective bargaining. Some recent examples include: fighting the California Civil Rights Initiative and other measures to end racial quotas, pushing for recognition of homosexual marriage, opposing the $500 per child tax credit, trying to block time limits on welfare payments, funding pro-choice abortion groups, and opposing English as America's official language.

Even moderate labor organizers admit that the enthusiasm and organizing savvy of these '60s kids, as well as their genius for theatrics, have helped resuscitate the image, if not the power, of organized labor. "How does labor get back into the game?" one union consultant asks. "We were getting beaten down so much, we needed to get the zealots out there—people who could communicate with the media. Sweeney represents the ascendancy of the zealots, and those zealots are virtually all from the left." Marginalized during the anti-communist Meany and Kirkland era, leftists are now increasingly running labor's asylum. They include such diverse figures as ultra-militant United Mine Workers head Richard Trumka, now AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, Karen Nussbaum, head of the AFL-CIO's new Working Women Department, and the AFL-CIO's executive vice president, Linda Chavez-Thompson.

> **"Headed by president John Sweeney, the new [union] leadership is involved in a process of radicalization and militancy.... We have very good relations...with labor's leaders."**

***—Political Affairs: The Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party USA,* April and May 1996**

Joel Kotkin is the John M. Olin Fellow at the Pepperdine University Institute for Public Policy and a senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute. He is a dues-paying member of AFTRA, a union affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

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Yet if labor has gained much from the enthusiasm and media shrewdness of the zealots, it may come to regret embracing their political perspective. In contrast to Meany-style unionists, the retro-'60s radicals bring with them a far more extreme, neo-socialist perspective. With roughly three-quarters of union members describing themselves as moderate or conservative, Sweeney's embrace of the New Left could prove difficult to explain to the rank and file.

To date, however, Sweeney shows no signs of abandoning his radical allies. His love-ins with leftist intellectuals, first at Columbia late last year and again at UCLA, tied the union movement to such race and gender activists as Katha Pollitt, Betty Friedan, and Cornel West, as well as to Marxist radical Mike Davis, who boosts L.A.'s murderous gangs as proletarian exemplars.

Tom Hayden has also joined the lefty-labor love-in. But at least—perhaps because he hails from the Irish working class himself—Hayden appreciates the humor in the situation. "It's pretty amazing," Hayden says, smiling between bites of a microwaved bagel, "to see the AFL-CIO head up there on the podium talking with a bunch of SDSers and people from the gay and lesbian community. I never thought I'd see something like *that*."

Southwest Shutdown?

Hayden and many other radicals believe it will be among workers in the southwest that labor—and radical politics—will find its new base. The decision to hold the AFL-CIO's convention in Los Angeles this year reflected a calculation that the West will emerge as the primary battlefield for labor's future.

Why? For one thing, the Southwest contains the highest proportion of Latinos, whose numbers last year increased more—*in absolute terms*—than did the region's whites. The Latino population is heavily involved in generally low-wage industries—hotels, textiles, garments, plastics manufacturing—that form a potentially deep source of new members. With more than 600,000 industrial workers, Los Angeles County has become the country's largest manufacturing center, nearly three times the size of New York City.

Of course, the Southeast and the mountain West also have surging populations and expanding industries. But those regions are solidly Republican and—with the exception of the booming casino business in Las Vegas—extraordinarily hostile to organizing. Between 1985 and 1995, as employment surged 23 percent in the old Confederacy, the proportion of unionized private-sector workers in the South actually dropped from 7.1 to 4.7 percent.

By contrast, Los Angeles, with its left-leaning media and politically powerful public employee unions, seems an ideal target. Though never a union town on the scale of New York or San Francisco, Los Angeles boasts a labor movement that became a political force in the mid-1970s through alliance with longtime Mayor Tom Bradley. Dominated by hard-headed but highly pragmatic individuals drawn largely from the industrial and building trades unions, it has exercised a strong influence on various important boards and commissions, including the Redevelopment Agency and the Coliseum Authority.

But the economic collapse of the early 1990s devastated many old-line unions, particularly the building trades, the Machinists and Auto Workers, the latter two being all but wiped out. With private-sector, high-wage unions in retreat, only 8 percent of Los Angeles private sector work force is now unionized—less than the national average of 10 percent.

"Single-issue progressive activists have found a home in unions. And through the labor movement, those activists have learned the connectedness of various forms of oppression and exploitation."

—*The Democratic Left*, the publication of the Democratic Socialists of America, January/February 1996

As a result, even more than nationally, labor's focus in the region has shifted to the increasingly militant public employee unions, which have fought off all attempts by the county and by Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan to downsize government to levels appropriate to economic realities. These unions—led by Sweeney's SEIU—have established an alliance with labor groups focused on low-wage, largely minority sectors, such as the garment, hotel, and restaurant unions.

Thus the L.A. labor movement is now dominated by '60s-era militants such as UNITE organizer Steve Nutter and Miguel Contreras, an acolyte of the late '60s icon Cesar Chavez. These leaders are both more visible than their predecessors and much less adept at building alliances with other power groupings in the city. "We used to have very sophisticated leaders who were not very militant," explains one prominent economist with close ties to organized labor. "Now we have very militant leaders who are basically lacking in any real economic sophistication."

The new left-leaning labor leadership has formed close ties with fringe groups such as the Labor/Community Strategy Center, an organization run by free-lance Marxist Eric Mann, who vociferously defended the 1992 riots as a justifiable "rebellion." A more important ally is City Councilmember Jackie Goldberg—a veteran, with her more colorful brother Art, of Berkeley's Free Speech Movement. An ardent lesbian feminist, Goldberg possesses strong union credentials, having been a leader in the United Teachers of Los Angeles and later president of the L.A. Board of Education.

Like Tom Hayden, she is described mindlessly in the local media as a "liberal," but in truth she pursues a more militant, left-wing course. On the school board she was a vociferous defender of AIDS education, bilingualism, and busing. Since being elected to the council, she has become the darling of the radicals for her successful support of the nation's most comprehensive "living wage" measure for city contract workers—as well as for her bitter opposition to virtually any attempt at privatizing or seriously streamlining the city's cumbersome bureaucracy. Businesses fear, with justification, that the living-wage effort will be preparatory to an even more radical step—the imposition of a county-wide minimum

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wage and mass unionization backed by governmental edicts. These developments could undermine the relatively robust recovery the region had been experiencing, by driving business elsewhere.

But such practical considerations are unlikely to effect a labor, media, and intellectual elite that shares a '60s-bred sense of permanent moral outrage. Nor can much critical scrutiny be expected from the press—a haven to boosters ranging from the *L.A. Weekly*, the city's leading weekly free paper, to the far more powerful *Los Angeles Times*, whose labor writer, Stuart Silverstein, as one labor official proudly asserts, has been "totally converted" into a Pavlovian advocate for labor's cause.

The labor left's icons—such as Contreras and his radical wife Maria-Elena Durazo, president of District Eleven of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union—have been the subject of more gushing profiles in the *Times* than the hottest starlets or rock bands. Like revolutionary blacks in the 1960s, radical labor in L.A. today is very in. This positive image-building extends even to openly revolutionary Marxists like Yanira Merino, an organizer for the local Laborers' Union, who, in the *Times*, told of her past affiliation with El Salvador's Marxist FMLN guerillas and her passion for the ideas of the late revolutionary Che Guevera. "Che," the 31-year-old organizer told her adoring chronicler, "really goes into what we have to do."

A Faustian Bargain

Labor's new leftward course poses serious problems, particularly for cities and for the future of unionism itself. After all, in America, "being like Che" isn't a formula for total success. The peculiarly solipsistic moralism of '60s radicalism often works against the practical political needs of labor. While labor grows more committed to '60s-style struggle, the Los Angeles area is experiencing the emergence of smaller firms, which, along with larger and better-established companies, may feel threatened by such things as local minimum-wage laws. With nearly 37 percent of American households now engaged in some small-business activity, touching off a mobilization of entrepreneurs against labor could prove a drastic miscalculation. "You can't send this kind of hostile message in this environment and not expect people to react," observes Linda Griego, the former head of the development organization Rebuild L.A. "There's a sense that these people feel a tremendous suspicion towards small business—they don't even want to nurture it."

Meanwhile, labor's emphasis on organizing low-wage workers could prove both futile and extremely expensive. After a decade of much-ballyhooed agitation, Latino immigrants in Los Angeles still enjoy a unionization rate less than half that of Anglo workers. Several well-publicized attempts to organize Latino workers in L.A.'s vast industrial belt—including the California Immigrant Workers Association and the Los Angeles Manufacturing Action Project—have ended up being terminated by local unions.

Even when such workers are organized, labor insiders suggest, their ability to contribute to union coffers is extraordinarily circumscribed. "You can't sustain a union movement by organizing people at McDonald's," says one consultant from the Washington, D.C., area who has worked for several major industrial unions. "You build a strong union movement on the backs of auto workers, steel workers, people who build aircraft."

Labor's shift in emphasis from middle-class workers to poor "people of color" could ultimately threaten the union movement's ability to practice *realpolitik*, as opposed to mere theatrics. In Los Angeles this spring, for example, the AFL-CIO attempted to regain its political standing by endorsing Riordan, who is expected to trounce Hayden. Much of the pro-Riordan sentiment came from building trades, food processing, and even the militant hotel workers, all of whom feared Hayden's opposition to job-creating public works projects.

"This mayor is for development in this city," notes Dick Slawson, executive director of the 100,000-member Los Angeles-Orange County Building Trades Council. "That's important to the building trades people who have been out of work in this town, while Hayden is opposing all the projects we've been pushing." Riordan even managed to win support from the left-leaning Durazo in exchange for agreeing to press local hotel owners to accept union workers. Soon, however, the AFL-CIO was forced to rescind its endorsement because of attacks from the passionately pro-Hayden SEIU and media-smart, but member-poor, unions such as UNITE.

Having relied on radicals to rescue itself from the dead, labor may have handed the militants an unexpected veto power that will sharply circumscribe the unions' flexibility. "Here we had a chance to make a deal with a pro-growth guy who's going to be mayor for four years, and the zealots make us break the deal," a traditional labor official complained. "We could have been real players and now we just look foolish."

The radicalizing tendency could also hurt labor in the long term by driving yet more economic growth out of urban regions such as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, where labor still wields some power, and into the nonunion hinterlands. As corporate demographer David Birch has suggested, cities are evolving a kind of "self-destructive political economy" in which public employees, left-leaning media, and race/gender-issue groups call the tune, to the detriment of the private economy. "These are the kind of things that make big cities uncompetitive," observes Cooper Union urban historian Fred Siegel. "It's a typical '60s radical attempt to help poor and immigrant workers that actually hurts them. It's good intentions gone awry."

All of this could pave a disastrous course in which labor, increasingly militant and isolated, becomes little more than the voice of a motley coalition of taxpayer-financed workers and the poor. Cut off from Middle America in both a geographic and a psychic sense, unions could become virtually irrelevant nationally. Or, increasingly desperate, militants could turn to the kind of theatrical tactics—such as the heckling of elected officials, slashing of "scab" workers' tires, and even outright political violence—that characterized the New Left at the end of the 1960s.

Some conservatives may regard labor's potential self-destruction as a welcome development. But in a country where mediating institutions—churches, neighborhood groups, and employee organizations prominent among them—provide a critical shield against the ferocity of both the state and the marketplace, the prospective decline of organized labor as a mainstream force ought to give citizens concerned with the functioning of our democracy little cause for celebration.

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The '60s RULES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

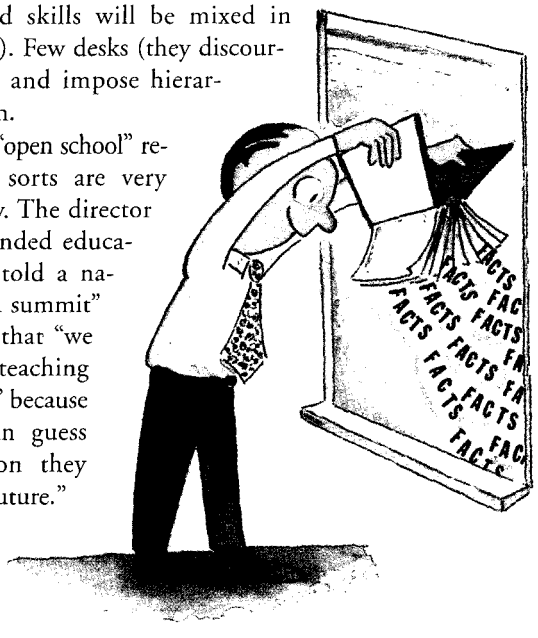
BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

Celebration, Florida, as readers of earlier issues of this magazine know, is a town being developed near Orlando by the Walt Disney Company. Because it has been carefully conceived to be a livable and practical community, with vast resources and talent being poured into it, the town promises to exert great influence over the design of future communities around the United States.

At its heart, Celebration is based on the idea that American communities prior to World War II were more livable than most modern suburbs or cities, and that new communities ought therefore be designed much more like those traditional towns. But one important community institution in Celebration is being built along lines that are anything but traditional. And that is the community school.

Scheduled to open this fall, the Celebration school will feature "the latest in educational thinking": No grades (too competitive, not "meaningful"). No set grade levels (students of various ages and skills will be mixed in "neighborhoods"). Few desks (they discourage cooperation and impose hierarchy). And so forth.

Unstructured "open school" reforms of these sorts are very trendy right now. The director of a federally funded education laboratory told a national "education summit" a few years ago that "we are no longer teaching facts to children," because "none of us can guess what information they will need in the future."



Contributing editor Phil Langdon reports that when he recently drove by the Pennsylvania high school he attended in the early 1960s—where the principal used to write stern yearbook messages like "The north wind made the Vikings strong"—the building sported signs announcing "Teachers at Work Building Self-Esteem."

The public school my own son attended in the shadow of Cornell University in the early 1990s is organized on exactly the same principles as the Celebration school. Here, the aversion to structure, tradition, and order extends even to numerals—classrooms are no longer numbered, but referred to by names like "Moon," "Rainforest," and "Skycloud."

Contrary to their own claims, today's free-form schools are not actually built on "the latest" in educational thinking, but rather on something a full generation older. They are founded on a classic 1960s vision that children don't need to be taught so much as freed to express the wisdom that is innate within them. That such schools are springing up like mushrooms is no surprise: '60s kids are taking over as principals, teachers, and superintendents, while baby boomers-turned-yuppies provide the children for their experiments. What is surprising is that so few parents have bothered to find out whether these anti-traditional schools really work as promised.

The Unimpressive Output of American Classrooms

The best-known indicator of our educational droop over the last 30 years is the average SAT test score of college-bound high school seniors. From the mid-1960s to the mid-1990s, scores fell from 478 to 423 on the verbal section, and from 502 to 479 on the math section. (On each section, everyone gets 200 points just for showing up, and a perfect score is 800.) Other test results in specific subjects like geography, reading, mathematics and calculus, biology, chemistry, and physics also show slippage—in comparison both to previous performances and to students in other in-

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dustrial nations. This despite a gale of rhetoric and a huge flood of money aimed at educational improvement. From 1980 to 1996, nationwide spending per public-school student zoomed up 50 percent after inflation.

The clearest picture of contemporary miseducation comes from looking at specific knowledge gaps among today's students. Consider some of the answers given recently by 17-year-old Americans on the federal government's National Assessment of Educational Progress:

- One-third thought Columbus reached the New World after 1750.
- 62 percent were unable to place the Civil War in the years between 1850 and 1900.
- One-third had no idea what *Brown* v. *Board of Education* changed.
- A third couldn't identify the countries the U.S. fought against in World War II.
- A third couldn't identify Abraham Lincoln.
- 47 percent couldn't express the fraction 9/100 as a percent.
- Half couldn't calculate the area of a rectangle. Only 6 percent are proficient in what was considered high school mathematics a generation ago (algebra, geometry, multi-step problem solving).
- A scant 6 percent could solve this problem: "Christine borrows $850 for one year from the Friendly Finance Company. If she pays 12 percent simple interest on the loan, what will be the total amount that Christine repays?"
- One-third did not know that the Mississippi River flows into the Gulf of Mexico.
- Only 20 percent could write a simple one-paragraph letter to a local supermarket manager applying for a job.

Other sources come up with similar results. Surveys done for the National Geographic Society, for instance, show that only 45 percent of 18- to 24-year-olds are able to locate New York State on a map. A third can find Michigan, a quarter Massachusetts. On a world map, just 36 percent can identify England. In 1993, Bill Clinton's Secretary of Education reported that sophisticated new reading comprehension tests show that only 37 percent of all high school seniors can read at their grade level. Fully a third of today's college students must enroll in a remedial course in reading, writing, or math when they hit campus.

Employers, too, are distraught. Noting that 44 percent of the job-seekers who showed up at his office couldn't read at the ninth-grade level, Prudential Insurance executive Robert Winters mourned that "they are 17 years old and virtually unemployable for life." Eighty percent of the candidates for factory work at Motorola reportedly flunk the company exam seeking fifth-grade math competency and seventh-grade English levels.

And if you think this problem is limited to a few inner-city schools, think again. Today's widespread middle-class complacency on school quality is not justified. American schools are actually doing slightly better than they used to for their lowest achievers; it's at the middle and the top of the achievement scale that results have really deteriorated.

Karl Zinsmeister is Editor in Chief of The American Enterprise.

The "60s Mentality" and the Erosion of Standards

Standards at American schools were higher in the past than they are today. Educator Daniel Singal compares national surveys from the 1990s and the mid-1960s ("just before countercultural innovations swept away the old curriculum") and finds that the pre-reform high school students were, for instance, more than twice as likely to write critical papers on the literary works they were studying.

At the same time the workload was declining, grades were inflating. Three decades ago, only one college-bound senior in eight carried an A average for his high school years. Today, fully one in four factors out as an A overall. (This despite the fact that a much bigger proportion of each class is in the college-bound group.)

"Every generation of students has wanted to take it easy," summarizes Virginia teacher Pat Welsh, "but until the last couple of decades, they weren't allowed to get away with it." Professor Singal agrees. "The percentage of students who are truly lazy…is probably no greater today than it has been in the past. The real problem, I'm convinced, is that college-bound youngsters over the past two decades have not received the quality education they deserve."

Our "dumbing-down" of the curriculum began with "the cultural ferment of the 1960s," says Singal.

> In every conceivable fashion the reigning ethos of those times was hostile to excellence in education. Individual achievement fell under intense suspicion, as did attempts to maintain standards. Discriminating among students on the basis of ability or performance was branded "elitist." Education gurus of the day called for essentially non-academic schools, whose main purpose would be to build habits of social cooperation and equality rather than to train the mind.

Because of this disdain for high achievement, says Singal, "in place of 'stretching' students, the key objective in previous eras, the goal has become not to 'stress' them."

> Perhaps most crucial, the '60s mentality, with its strong animus against what it defines as "elitism," has shifted the locus of concern in American education from high to low achievers.... The prevailing ideology holds that it is much better to give up the prospect of excellence than to take the chance of injuring any student's self-esteem. Instead of trying to spur children on to set high standards for themselves, teachers invest their energies in making sure that slow learners do not come to think of themselves as failures.

But an education system devoted to defining failure out of existence instead of encouraging excellence will have serious flaws. One problem is that levelers, as Samuel Johnson noted, always want to level down, not up. So all expectations are decreased to the lowest common denominator.

More tragically, this coddling strategy misunderstands human psychology and the means by which low achievers are best led to improved results. "Students do respond to challenge when they see it is in their best interests to do so," says Pat Welsh, a classroom veteran. But in the aftermath of the '60s we are afraid to ask for hard work and high achievement.

Illustrations by Leila Cabib

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Trivializing the Curriculum

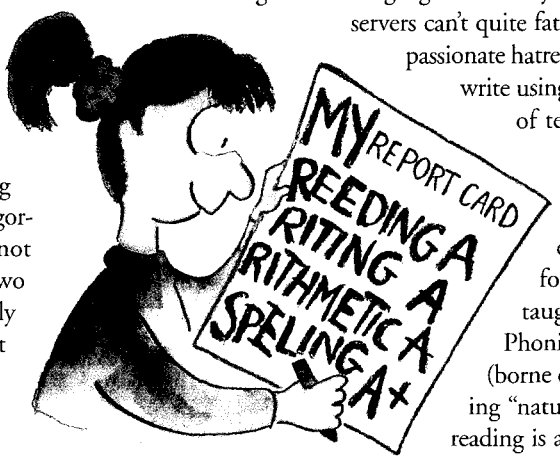
Some time ago, I opened my local paper and read an article describing how teenagers at a school just down the street spent several weeks of afternoon classes making "Medusa masks." A local "performance artist and storyteller" first read them the Greek Medusa myth, then students sketched and eventually modelled plaster likenesses. The teacher leading the class said she chose to have the teenagers (who were not art students) make a mask because "it wipes away your identity so you can become something you would never have allowed otherwise."

Students picked up on this. One reported "I felt like with the different masks...I could be anything I want to be. I could say more. I could say anything I want to." Another student said the project was fun. "I wish the whole day was art, art, art," exclaimed 14-year-old Ramadan Muhammad, who expressed hopes of becoming a doctor.

The large photo accompanying the article is, to be honest, somewhat embarassing to look at. Here is a circle of strapping young men and women surrounded by styrofoam egg cartons, baby food jars full of bright paint, and crude papier-mâché Halloween masks—looking worrisomely like preschoolers at "crafts time."

Superficial learning of this sort is now endemic in U.S. schools, at all age levels. Friends whose children attend Seattle public schools shared a letter they sent to the principal of their fourth-grader's school:

> In mathematics...the "Homework Times" for the week takes less than an hour of work and includes no drilling or substantial sets of problems to be solved.... Matthew's science work for the last two weeks has included work on insects, including at least four class periods spent on drawing an imaginary insect and sharing it with the class. This seems creative, but not rigorous. As far as we can determine Matthew has not been required to read any book in the last two weeks, nor to report on one.... He has apparently not had a social studies class in two weeks...last week's frivolous "Homework Times" assignment required Matthew (among other things) to find out the birthdays of three popular entertainers.



Nice middle-class schools all across this country are now cursed with lightweight curricula and undemanding instruction of this sort. Because these institutions don't have high dropout rates and outright illiteracy, parents think these schools are not part of today's educational problem. They're wrong. Low standards plague even our very best schools.

In an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, parent and college-level educator Barbara Bronson Gray reflects on her children's experience in their suburban California school, which was nominated for the U.S. Education Department's Blue Ribbon School Award.

> The work the children bring home [is] often not corrected, with spelling and grammar errors un-noted.... Some of the teachers say that correcting children's written work inhibits the writing process and lowers their self-esteem.... Remember book reports? You not only had to remember what you read, but learn to summarize and analyze and get it down on paper. Not any more. At this school, the kids make mobiles and dioramas to *illustrate* the book's concept. As for writing, most of what is taught is creative writing, journal writing, free expression. Learn the structure of a paragraph? How to research a topic? How to argue a point? No, that's old-fashioned. Boring.

What's sad, comments Gray, is that these kids are well-prepared for academic challenge. The school is located in a neighborhood where "the average family's income approaches $70,000 and most of the parents have college degrees. This is a place where Cub Scouts and Brownies and soccer and baseball and karate and all kinds of after-school activities are widely available." Prepared or not, though, challenge is not what the local kids are getting at school.

Two Illustrations: "Whole Language" Reading and No-drill Math

It isn't laziness that has created today's sloppy, feel-good public school teaching. Reforms like multiculturalism, New Math, and "classrooms without walls" actually tend to be promoted by their advocates with great energy. If they fail it's simply because their principles are ill-founded.

Take the so-called "whole language" approach to reading and writing. This is the only method "progressives" would dream of using to teach language skills today. For reasons I and many other observers can't quite fathom, educational liberals have a passionate hatred of training students to read and write using phonics. Phonics is the method of teaching the sound patterns that make up all words. Using these basic sounds as keys, nearly any word can be deciphered, even if one has never seen it before. American schoolkids were taught this way for generations. Phonics instruction is built on the idea (borne out by studies) that there is nothing "natural" about learning to read, that reading is a skill in which one must be "explicitly trained" (as Harvard phonics advocate Jeanne Chall puts it).

The "whole language" approach, on the other hand, says forget about memorizing those language-sound keys. That's oppressive. Just look at the words, use creative guessing, and with enough time reading will come naturally, because there are no tedious rules to interfere with the joy of the book. Under the "whole language" method, guessing is also the key to learning to write. To encourage creativity and avoid the trauma of being corrected, children are taught to use "invented spelling." The assumption of "whole language" proponents is that spelling, punctuation, and the rules of grammar will eventually be picked up from context. Meanwhile, the emphasis on introducing children to words without any intimidating concepts of right and wrong "empowers" the student, making reading and writing fun and therefore easy.

There is a certain sweetness to this view. Unfortunately, it has been fully tested on live students and found to fail miserably. In the

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states that have enthusiastically adopted "whole language" instruction, reading scores have plummeted to abysmal levels. California, then one of the premier public school systems in the country, instituted a highly "progressive" language arts curriculum in 1987, and by 1994 California fourth-graders were tied for the worst reading proficiency in the country. Emergency measures had to be launched by state officials to require that phonics and spelling be re-introduced into curricula, and $200 million be allocated for phonics textbooks and teacher re-training. More recently, Illinois has experienced a similar tumble in reading competency tied to "whole-language" instruction.

Similar fits of progressive lunacy have afflicted other academic subject areas. History teaching today is notoriously ideological and P.C., with an exaggerated focus on minorities and victims. Teachers, says Harvard professor Tom Loveless, often encourage students "to express their interpretations of the past rather than learning the names, dates, and events that give history its shape."

Even math has been swept by silliness. Since the 1960s, several generations of "New Math" have flopped disastrously in schools. The latest approach, promulgated by baby-boomer staffers at the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, encourages less drilling and computation, and more writing and discussion of math *concepts*. To see how this has played out in practice, let's return to California, where a new math curriculum based on these principles called "MathLand" has been widely adopted. Children are taught the "ideas behind" math, encouraged to think creatively about the subject, and to express their thoughts in a journal. Memorization and drill are out. Tests, homework, and grades are sharply de-emphasized.

As with the rebellion against phonics, the results of this liberationist strategy have been disastrous. One study showed that math scores dropped at eight out of ten California schools after MathLand was introduced. After scores for several minority groups tumbled, San Francisco Superintendent Bill Rojas announced last year that the district was revising its program to put more emphasis on math fundamentals.

National patterns on math instruction are striking. The federal government's National Assessment of Educational Progress has shown throughout the 1990s that states with "traditional classroom approaches to teaching mathematics" do better and rank higher than

'60s MULTICULTURALISM BECOMES MANDATORY

by Douglas Lasken

I've been a public school teacher for 13 years. This past fall I took a course that recently became mandatory for all California teachers of students who aren't native English speakers. Every teacher in a bilingual classroom, whether a 20-year veteran or newly hired, must pass it or risk losing his or her position.

Our instructor, whom I'll call "Rita," told us we were going to learn all about race and class, and then began telling us about herself. Rita is the bilingual coordinator at her school and prefers to speak Spanish as much as possible. If anyone asks her to speak English, she "shuts them up" by bluntly asking "Why?"

She was born in Central America and is proud of being a citizen of another country. She has a keen sense of her ethnicity, eats only her country's food, listens only to her country's music, and would never become a citizen of the U.S. Rita told us that she is resisting the "dominant culture"—an attitude she insisted is widespread among immigrants—and promised that we would learn "sensitivities" to this attitude during her course.

She directed us to an article by a USC professor that calls on teachers to "challenge coercive relations of power" emanating from a "curriculum that reflects only the experience and values of middle-class English-speaking students."

To hammer the point home, Rita led an exercise called "Food for Thought" in which she read 21 statements—if any applied to us, we had to stand. The "culturally diverse" teachers in the class stood up for statements about pain and oppression ("I remember being punished…for speaking my home language at school"), while the middle-class whites stood up for statements that exposed us as the "dominant class" ("Crayolas or bandages in 'flesh' color…match my skin.")

In the next session, mercifully, we turned from white guilt to linguistic theory. Our readings purported to offer "empirical proof" that non-native English speakers need to be educated in their first language for several years before they can be taught in English—the practice in the L.A. Unified School District for Spanish-speaking students. But before Rita could begin, there was a question from one of my classmates: "Why, with more than 100 languages spoken in the Los Angeles school district, do we give this instruction only in Spanish?" Rita's answer was simple, though it lacked the kind of "sensitivities" she had mentioned earlier. "It costs a lot of money to run this program," she said, "and we can't do it for every obscure little country."

Over the next four weekends, Rita took us through the basic tenets of bilingual education. These may be summarized as follows: (1) European immigrants of the last century had a strong educational background and could begin learning English when they got here. (2) Ditto for Asians. (3) Latino immigrants often come here without a strong educational background, and therefore they should not study English because it will only mix them up.

I wasn't about to debate the history of bilingual education with Rita. It seemed to me the course could have given teachers a rounded view without calling critics of bilingual education "cultural hegemonists" and "intellectual xenophobes," but I didn't want to fail the course and lose my job, so I held my tongue.

Because I did, I can continue to teach in Los Angeles. I now wonder, though, who the real "cultural hegemonists" are, and who is going to make sure that teacher training actually has something to do with real teaching.

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states that have embraced "progressive" methods. Students in the highest-scoring states spend more time working alone on assigned problem-solving—exactly the kind of activity the '60s kids at the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics want de-emphasized.

To see the bizarre direction math teaching has taken, consider this description from Arizona State University academic Marianne Jennings, who recently investigated textbooks and instruction methods for secondary-school students:

> [The popular textbook] *Secondary Math: An Integrated Approach* has color photos, essays on the Dogon tribe of Africa, and questions such as "What role should zoos play in today's society?" There's Maya Angelou poetry, pictures of Bill Clinton, and little insights from Tabuk and Esteban (youngsters chosen to enlighten students about cultural differences).... The book, with its busy pages and journey through environmentalism, is an 800-page pedagogical nightmare. By contrast, our mathematical superiors, the Japanese, have 200- to 300-page texts all about—get this—math....
>
> The idea behind [these new textbooks] is that a "conceptual understanding" of math, not problems and practice, is what matters. It's like saying you can learn to play a piano concerto by studying how it's written—and forgetting about learning musical notation or even what a piano is....
>
> Math education goes further astray in the jungle of popular but unproven teaching techniques. Under "cooperative learning," for example, students join together in groups during class, with the hope that they will somehow teach each other a concept none has ever seen....

A March 1997 *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll shows that record numbers of Americans have developed a negative view of our schools. Only 18 percent of the public now gives them a grade of "B" or better. Fully 28 percent score today's schools at "D" or "F." A startling 25 percent of all parents have pulled a child out of a school they were not happy with, and 6 percent of all U.S. families have gone so far as to educate a child at home. Experiments like those I've chronicled here, which operate with young children as their guinea pigs, are fueling this record discontent.

Making School "Relevant" and "Fun"

American students have been encouraged by their baby-boomer teachers to believe that education has to be fun. Consequently, the resistance to any learning that might seem dry or strenuous has become quite strong. Moviemaker George Lucas, of "Indiana Jones" and "Star Wars" fame, is one of scores of vendors now capitalizing on this by selling television-based "education" packages to school districts. Another "no-sweat education" craze today is "Internet learning." The benefits are quite limited. The expenses are very high. But there is lots of novelty value and little student or teacher pain, so resources are pouring in.

Structurally, many public high school administrators have remade their institutions into what has been called "the shopping mall school," where teenagers pick and choose their education à la carte. With no requirements and few encouragements for students to tackle rigorous material, difficult classes have fallen into disfavor. A few years ago, reporters from the *Los Angeles Times* paid a visit to suburban Northridge Middle School. They found classes in "baseball-card collecting, jigsaw puzzles, and crocheting." A Northridge teacher volunteered that "the most important job in junior high is not subject matter, but morale."

The late sociologist James Coleman, who studied this phenomenon, noted that when the '60s demand for "relevant" courses seeped down to the high school level, the result was that "foreign languages shrank to a shadow of the curriculum, while college-preparatory mathematics, physics, and chemistry went into a less steep decline. These unpopular subjects were replaced by film-making, mystery novels, and other courses that had the appeal of little homework...minimal demands on analytical skills, and some connection to popular culture."

Education expert Chester Finn reports that what students know best today comes from popular culture. They are, in particular, familiar with historical figures and literary characters who have been translated into movies and television shows. "What they know least are the books, ideas, events, and authors taught only in school."

The problem with encouraging students to expect that they'll be amused at school, cautions professor Harry Wray, is that education "isn't always fun.... It only becomes fun after we have had to memorize something.... Interest develops from that base." (Wray, who teaches in Japan, suggests that "Japanese students are more realistic about school." They "have been socialized to assume that they are in school to learn. They do not expect to be entertained.")

Multiculturalism Runs Amok

In the last year my son attended public elementary school, his whole school "studied" something called Cheko for its big December-to-April push. Cheko is a harvest party traditionally staged by the Dogon people, who make up 7 percent of the population of the small African nation of Mali. There were films, cooking classes, songs to memorize, costume-making classes, field trips, and several seminars and workshops that teachers attended at full pay so they could first learn something about Cheko themselves (no one in the school had any previous experience with Cheko, Mali, or even Africa). The culmination was a school-wide "Festival to Remember."

In itself, there is nothing objectionable about a harvest celebration. But why make any ethnic safari—be it an African agricultural revel or a German Oktoberfest—a major, weeks-long, focus of the school year? What we have here is trendy multiculturalism giving us cruise ship education. (Strange food! Third World music! Puppets!) A cadre of hardcore '60s activists-turned-teachers, bolstered by some guilt-plagued yuppie parents, all of them white and well-to-do, dreamed up our Cheko festival. But it was downtown elementary-school kids from dicey home environments who ended up devoting a big chunk of their school year to a boondoggle that left them without much in the way of hard skills they could use to compete in the real world.

This same school dosed its students with a heavy regimen of classes in "conflict management." Kindergartners got a multiweek unit on advertising: "exploring gender bias and manipulation." Early elementary teachers endeavored "to teach children about a variety of family structures, with emphasis on families with gay or lesbian parents." And the fourth graders were taught Zulu. Children in several classes were told to call their teachers by

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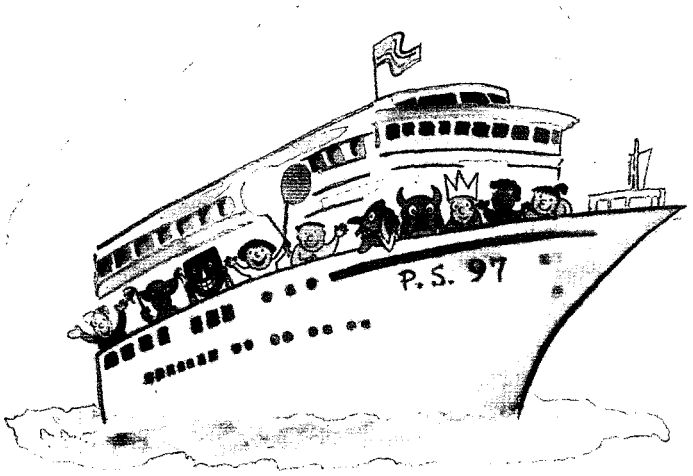

their first names. In some classes, the children wrote their own report cards.

The materials sent home by the school regularly included errors in spelling, grammar, and fact. One teacher described the great American poet Longfellow to me as "British" when explaining why it wouldn't be relevant for her students to study him. American history, government, and culture were taught mostly in the form of Black and Native American history.

There was a thick '60s patina to all of this malpractice. Here is how principal Robert Navarro (also head of the district-wide principals' association) spelled out the goals of this local school:

> A highly congruent program of inclusion for all students will improve student engagement in/and ownership of their learning.... Each student will become empowered and advocate for their own learning. Each student will become viable members [sic] of their heterogeneous classroom community and readily participate in cooperative learning experiences. Each student will resist the imposition of any form of tracking.... Each student will develop a multicultural perspective, learning to identify stereotypes and become free of racial, religious, and gender bias.

This isn't some street-corner activist's megaphone harangue, it's the actual mission statement of our own neighborhood public school. And it derives directly from the campus radicalism of the 1960s.

One more '60s twist to this tale is a telling little sexual liberation side-theme. When the superintendent of schools who presided over the wreckage I've just described left the district last year, we learned that he (very much a child of the '60s) had brought not only his wife and family but also a mistress with him when he moved here several years ago. And when he moved on (under a serious financial cloud) for a job in a new district, he took with him yet a newer partner: a married woman who was one of his assistant superintendents.

This revelation may help explain why dissident parents got nowhere with their pleas for some moderation and discipline in local schools. They were dealing, it turns out, with people who weren't moderate or disciplined themselves. Someone who is relativistic and promiscuous in his own life is likely to bring those same qualities to his work. Which is why the new "personal values" swept in by the '60s counterculture are producing some very public effects today.

P.C.'s Best Friend: Fat and Happy Affluence

Ultimately, the trivialization of our school programs is driven by a kind of reckless overconfidence, as this exchange from the "Calvin and Hobbes" comic strip hints:

> Hobbes: Aren't you supposed to be doing homework now?
> Calvin: I quit doing homework. It sends the message that I don't know enough! All that emphasis on right answers makes me feel bad when I get them wrong. So instead of trying to learn, I'm concentrating on liking myself the way I am.
> Hobbes: So the secret to liking yourself is to lower your expectations to the point where they're already met?
> Calvin: Right. We should take pride in our mediocrity. [*Looking at the unfinished, headless snowman he has been working on:*] I think this snowman is good enough, don't you?
> Hobbes: Remind me to invest overseas.

This makes for a good cartoon. It isn't funny, though, when such attitudes root in the classroom.

Reflecting on the fat, happy, and very soft schools she sees around her in suburban California, Barbara Gray comments that

> the problem in these schools has little to do with money—either family money or state money—and a lot to do with our philosophy of education and our understanding of what it takes to be prepared to function in the 21st century. It's about complacency, and maybe about anti-intellectualism, and more subtly, the idea that if you're not poor, you're destined to rule, even without good education.

But no one succeeds today simply by destiny. And we know children in Korean and Japanese schools aren't sitting around making thinking caps and staging Cheko celebrations.

It's highly desirable that American schools should encourage creativity, and be flexible in the ways they operate. And there is nothing wrong with educational experimentation, so long as it is disciplined, hard-nosed, and carefully monitored to make sure it produces results. Nor is there anything wrong with today's children—who are as talented and knowledge-hungry as any previous.

Our problem is that many of today's teachers and parents absorbed the anti-authority, anti-excellence ideology of the '60s, and as a result often fail to inspire or direct the young authoritatively. "Instead of offering challenges and clearly defined goals, we prefer to let kids slide by, for fear that many won't choose to work toward those goals," says Pat Welsh, the teacher.

This approach claims to be compassionate, but in fact it robs all children, and especially the least advantaged, of the chance to excel. Only high standards, clear direction, and genuine achievement in the face of stiff demands will ever stretch children to their full human potential. Augustine put his finger on it long ago: We must raise our goals if we are to meet them.

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THE '60s WAVE WASHES OVER 1990's UNIVERSITIES

Today's colleges are wildlife refuges for '60s values and people

by Joseph Epstein

If the '60s were your idea of a good time, the corner of Haight and Ashbury Streets in San Francisco was the Copacabana. That was where, baby, the good times rolled.

A few years ago I strolled down the Haight again, surprised how little the street seemed to have changed. The street's denizens were got up in '60s regalia: beards, long hair, dreary denim, backpacks, bedrolls, bandanas. Walking past the corner of Haight and Ashbury, I noted a man of perhaps my own middle years, red-eyed and in an advanced stage of scragglitude, who plunked his guitar and intoned, "Oh, ya drop dead in the street and they give ya a ticket for littering."

On the Haight I felt like I was Rip Van Winkle in reverse. And yet, however familiar the scene appeared, time had clearly passed. The young, blonde, long-haired, be-sandaled girls who seemed so much a part of the counterculture fantasy are now older, gray, still long-haired and be-sandaled women, looking much the worse for wear. The man who sang about dropping dead in the street may do just that.

I had considered myself a radical during the 1960s. One of the advantages enjoyed by the Left in the struggle for the minds of young people is that it provides them with a ready-made set of trendy, liberating opinions; in my own youthful time, I had them all. But looking now into the drug-besotted eyes of these San Franciscans pushing middle age, I muttered to myself, "What you do with your life is your own business, but I'm awfully glad that, in the battle of competing visions, yours lost."

But as I sit here now I ask myself: Did that vision really lose? In diluted form much of the spirit of the '60s lives on. In some quarters, in fact, it's not only living on but very nearly prevailing, even if not in the preserved-in-amber form one finds on the Haight.

Specifically, the '60s ethic is alive and all too well in our universities. The men and women now coming into dominance as full professors, department chairmen, and deans were all in their twenties in the late '60s. One sees the influence not only in their dress and ubiquitous beards—theirs is surely the first generation of full professors to teach in jeans—but in their chumminess with students, their readiness to subvert traditional standards, their rush to align themselves with activist causes.

My own career as a university teacher began in 1974. Although the revolution of the '60s was officially over, its effects were everywhere–in those university teachers who casually slept with their students; in a curriculum that was increasingly organized less to educate students than to please them; in the new teacher evaluations students were encouraged to make; and above all in the newly organized, consciousness-raising academic units known as Afro-American Studies and Women's Studies. The scholar Edward Shils once described the '60s to me as an enormous wave that rolled over the country, then slowly rolled back, but not without leaving a vast amount of debris on the beach. In universities, I came to see at first hand, the debris was everywhere.

As the years went by, things would not get better. They would get worse, as the young graduate students and instructors of the '60s grew into the associate and full professors of the '80s. Marxism became a hot item, and scarcely any academic department in the humanities and social sciences (with the exception, interestingly, of economics) felt it could carry on without one or two Marxists. True, open protest was now mostly passé, left to small student groups who worked off their '60s envy by, say, building a shack in front of the administration building. But open protest isn't any longer needed, now that the barbarians are already inside, boring—in all senses of the word—from within.

By "barbarians" I mean a modest number of hard-core characters who actively proselytize students and teach a fairly straightforward leftist menu. There's nothing new about leftist proselytizing on campus. What's new is the general tolerance for this dreary fare among the liberals who run most universities. Contemporary liberalism is haunted by fear and self-righteousness that make it impossible for it to draw lines or enforce standards.

The United States currently has two political cultures: the culture of the country, which twice elected Ronald Reagan; and the culture of the university, in which, if an election were held today between Ronald Reagan and Louis Farrakhan, the outcome would not be easy to predict (the largest number of votes, my guess is, would be abstentions).

The liberalism that reigns in universities makes possible almost continuous inroads of Marxism, feminism, Greenism, deconstructionism, and other isms too numerous to mention. A few years ago a rather chaotic instructor at my own university proposed a seminar on "gender and literature," on the grounds that our English department had shown itself woefully behind the times in not having more such courses. When I suggested that being behind the times in this

THEY'RE BACK

"After the Vietnam War, a lot of us [antiwar graduate students] didn't just crawl back into our literary cubicles; we stepped into academic positions. With the war over, our visibility was lost, and it seemed for a while—to the unobservant—that we had disappeared. Now we have tenure, and the work of reshaping the universities has begun in earnest."

—Middlebury College English professor Jay Parini, quoted in *The Dream and the Nightmare*, by Myron Magnet.

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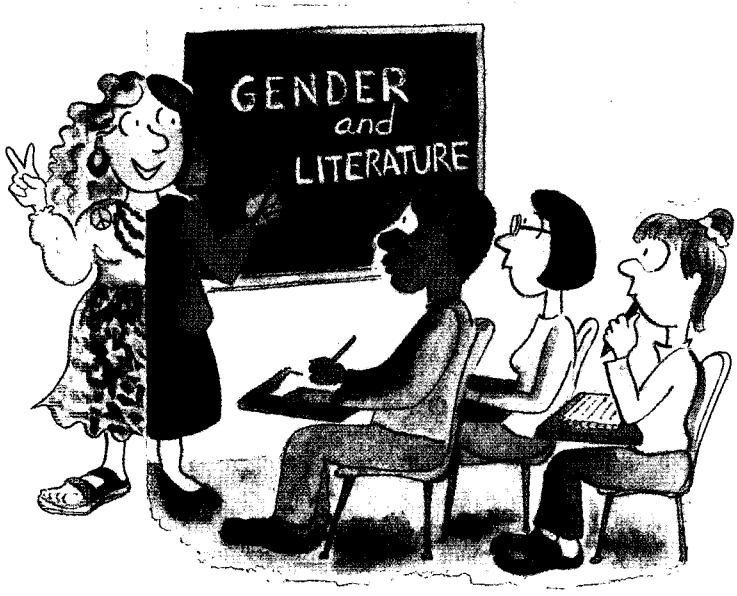

regard might not be such a bad thing I received very strange looks. When I went on to say that I was concerned about the built-in political content of such a course, it was as if I had loudly belched at a small dinner party for the French ambassador. How gauche!

But then in the contemporary university just about everything that is not *gauche* is gauche.

Joseph Epstein is a professor at Northwestern University and longtime editor of the Phi Beta Kappa journal The American Scholar. *He is about to be replaced in the latter position by someone whose consciousness has been raised higher.*

Theft Added to the List of Campus Freedoms

by John Leo

College campuses today are experiencing a craze of left-wing censorship via theft of controversial newspaper editions from campus. One of the latest of many examples of major theft followed by deafening silence from college administrators occurred at the University of California, Berkeley. Almost all 24,000 copies of the Election Day issue of the *Daily Californian* were stolen. As it happened, that issue carried an editorial strongly supporting Proposition 209, the ballot initiative which banned affirmative action race and gender preferences in state hiring, contracts, and college admissions. In the past month, another 13,000 copies of the paper have been stolen, all on days when the editorial content displeased a pugnacious pro-preferences group called the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action by Any Means Necessary.

A university spokesman was unable to produce any speech, press release, or newspaper clip recording dismay over these occurrences on the part of Berkeley's chancellor. This is par for the course in modern academia. Any head of any college should have the wit to denounce censorship by theft, particularly when it seems to be becoming a normal course of events on campus. Instead we mostly get administrations eager to look the other way. Criticism by officials is rare; prosecuting or disciplining any of the perpetrators rarer still.

Call this Hackneyism. In the spring of 1993, the modern gold standard for tolerance of theft-censorship on campus was set by Sheldon Hackney, then president of the University of Pennsylvania, more recently appointed by President Clinton to head the National Endowment for the Humanities. Charging "institutional racism," 60 black Penn students stole nearly all of the 14,000 copies of the college paper. None of the students was punished or disciplined, though the guard who pursued them was reprimanded. The students called their theft a "peaceful political protest...protected by the First Amendment." (In other words, censorship is free speech.) Unwilling to criticize the Black Student League, which had sanctioned the theft, the limp and fearful Hackney went along with this idea, calling the theft "a protest activity" and famously lamenting that "diversity and open expression" were in conflict.

After Hackney's performance, the number of reported newspaper thefts on campuses jumped from four or five a year to 20 or 30 a year, according to the Student Press Law Center. More than a hundred college papers have reported major thefts (400 copies or more) in the past four years. Sometimes activists just follow the cars or trucks delivering the paper, picking up and trashing whole bundles as they are dropped. And why not? If taking papers so nobody can read them is treated as a legitimate protest activity on the modern campus, where is the downside?

John Leo is a nationally syndicated columnist and a writer for U.S. News and World Report.

Old Radicalism in New Bottles

Constitutional scholar Walter Berns of the American Enterprise Institute was teaching at Cornell in the 1960s when rifle-wielding black radicals, with support from other activists and little resistance from a weak administration and faculty, took control of the campus. In this infamous event, death threats were successfully used to dictate university policies.

Berns notes that at the height of the crisis, he read some speeches to his American government class "analyzing the situation and calling for what ought to be done. The radicals in the class were enthusiastic until I revealed that the speeches were by Mussolini."

This affinity with fascism continues among the academic heirs of the '60s kids. On today's campuses, '60s radicals grown up into professors and administrators are often "deconstructionists" or multiculturalists who deny the existence of truth or objective good and bad, who claim that all writing and argument merely conveys the biases of its producer.

This is dangerously nihilistic and illiberal; so it shouldn't surprise us to discover that the people peddling it often turn out to be dangerous themselves. The highly decorated godfather of today's academic deconstructionists is a former Yale professor named Paul de Man. A few years after de Man's death in 1983, he was discovered to have been a Nazi sympathizer who wrote 180 pro-Nazi newspaper articles in his native Belgium during World War II.

As Berns observes, 1990s radicals generally do not riot. They simply teach that history and tradition and great art have nothing of importance to convey. All meaning is now said to derive from group identity or personal preference. Power rather than truth is the goal.

Recall those 1960s tantrums against limits? This is the echo.

— The editors

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Marijuana & MEA CULPAS

by Andrew Peyton Thomas

There is a certain shameful joy that wells up in critics of the 1960s when they see baby-boomer parents struggling with rebellious adolescents of their own. Were the consequences of this generational strife not so momentous, one could with good conscience smugly bask in the justice of it all, as problem children of three decades' past try to assert over their own children the authority they once questioned in mantra. But alas, one result of this generational tension is an adolescent drug explosion reminiscent—predictably enough—of the social pathologies of the '60s.

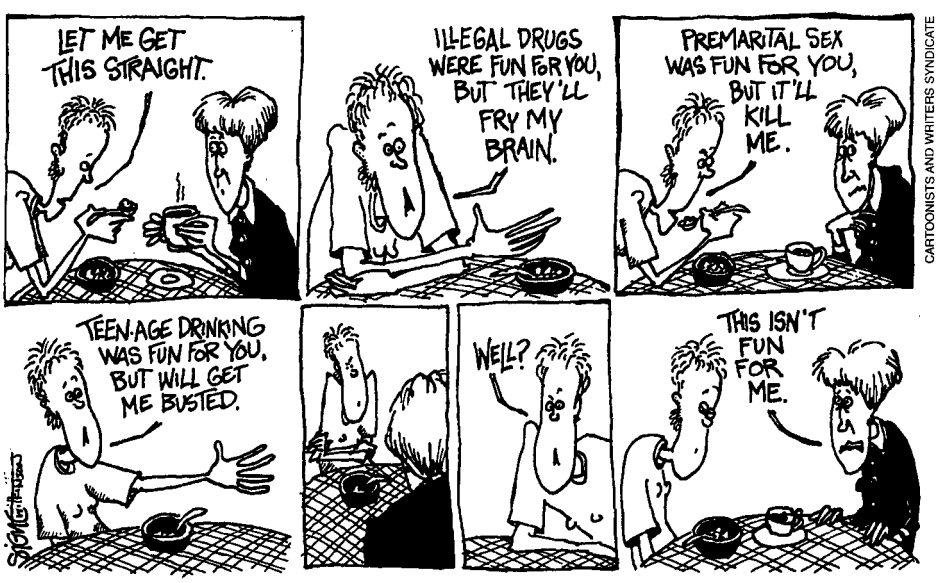
After bottoming out in the late '80s, the percentage of schoolchildren using illegal drugs has lurched upward in the '90s, as the children of the '60s kids have entered the system. The University of Michigan's Monitoring the Future study reported in December that the proportion of junior and senior high school students using any illicit drug in the prior 12 months has doubled since just 1991.

The upswing in marijuana use is especially dizzying. In five years, from 1991 to 1996, the percentage of eighth-graders using marijuana tripled. The percentage smoking pot daily nearly doubled in 1996 alone. Usage is also rising in higher grades; already, one out of every 20 high school seniors now uses marijuana daily. The Partnership for a Drug-Free America finds that the average age of first use of marijuana is now 13.

It would be unfair to lay all the blame for these trends at the doorstep of post-Woodstock parenting. The complacency born of recent success has also played a role. The large drop in drug usage in the '80s all but guaranteed that the media and politicians would pay less attention to the drug problem in the '90s. This societal failure to remind the new crop of youngsters of the perils of drug use has resulted in what Lloyd Johnston, a University of Michigan researcher, calls "generational forgetting."

The renewed celebration of drugs in the entertainment industry, particularly in the lyrics of popular songs, is likewise a function of past success in the anti-drug effort. In the 1980s, celebrities saw an explosion of drug-related violence encroaching on their lifestyle and property. As a result, they hastened to join (at least publicly) the "Just Say No" movement, thereby giving the movement its crucial push. As these role models of "cool" among American youth produced commercials discouraging drug use, the rate of drug usage plummeted. Today, crime rates are dropping and, not coincidentally, so is the level of anti-drug fervor among the media elite.

But complacency and Snoop Doggy Dogg are not the main factors behind today's increase in teen drug use. We must return to the family—that social unit still battered and reeling from the '60s—if we



CARTOONISTS AND WRITERS SYNDICATE
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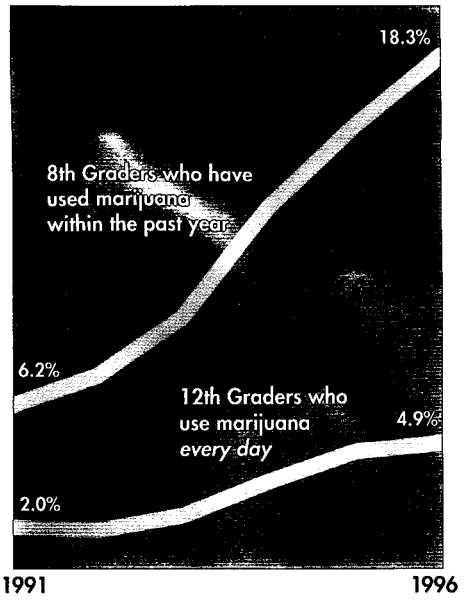
are to understand the roots of this crisis. American parents currently suffer from a disadvantage unique in history. Today, most parents have consumed illegal drugs at some time in their lives. A 1997 ABC News/*Washington Post* poll found that 55 percent of parents admitted they had smoked marijuana—which means considerably more *parents* of teens than teens have used drugs. And yet these same parents must now persuade their children, somehow, not to do the same.

The delicate task of dealing with this seeming hypocrisy is beginning to receive some attention. Bill Clinton says he confessed his drug use to his daughter, Chelsea, in the hope she would not make the same mistake. While we can only hope he denounced drugs to her with more clarity than he did in his '92 campaign, the *Wall Street Journal* reports that his administration in fact sees "little hope for a quick turnaround" in rising teenage drug use "because many of the 1990s drug users are the offspring of 1960s drug users." Researcher Johnston concurs: "parents of a decade ago may have been more likely than today's parents to talk to their children about drugs," because fewer parents of yesteryear had to overcome the shame of hypocrisy when speaking to their teens.

It is fitting that marijuana has become the drug of choice for so many boomer offspring. For the flower children, of course, the marijuana leaf was the emblem of a generation mutinying against parental authority and self-restraint. That parents today see this weed emblazoned on the logos of popular rock groups such as Cypress Hill, logos their children wear and advertise, is surely a cutting irony to the great majority of parents who do not want their issue to follow in these particular generational footsteps.

Even when today's parents summon the courage to 'fess up to their own toking as a prelude to exhorting their children not to do the same, a lack of firm conviction undermines their message. Too many feel uncomfortable appealing to moral absolutes when condemning such conduct. Such absolutes were among the first casualties of the 1960s. Religion was an especially inviting target, because it threatened to impose broad constraints on the merry overturning of custom and order that followed. But having jettisoned religion and replaced it with high-sounding but ineffectual appeals to love and justice, the generation now rearing adolescents lacks the most practical deterrent to drug use and other vices.

MARIJUANA OUTBREAK



Source: U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services.

In recent years, social scientists have examined the relationship between religion and drug use, particularly among adolescents. The general finding, academics Stephen J. Bahr, Ricky D. Hawks, and Gabe Wang summarize, is that "individuals affiliated with a religion have lower rates of drug use than do those not affiliated with a religion. Regardless of denomination, people who attend church regularly have lower rates of drug use than do those who do not attend regularly."

For instance, a 1991 study of 800 white males in the Seattle area found that adolescents who never attended religious services were almost four times as likely as those who attended church services weekly to report using drugs. Findings like these should remind parents that the vital traditions cast aside in their youth are still lying there, waiting only to be embraced and utilized again for good purposes.

Without firm moral principles like those religion is uniquely capable of instilling in children, parents will flounder in trying to raise offspring with a solid sense of right and wrong. Parents who have jettisoned traditional wisdoms often find it hard to offer children convincing reasons why they should follow the rules their parents lay down. Indeed, too many parents fail to make time even to discuss drugs with their children, much less effectively monitor them. The 1997 ABC News/*Washington Post* poll found that fewer than half of children report having had a "serious" talk with their parents about drugs. In an age that emphasizes providing children with "fun" and "quality time," it is not surprising that such unpleasant topics are going by the boards.

Children who have inherited 1960s norms in every other aspect of life cannot help but compare strictures on drug use with other evaporated standards, and begin to chafe. Anti-drug appeals come to seem rooted in nothing more than parental convenience, to be flouted without much trouble. Children see manifestations of radical individualism and liberationist values all around—in the triumph of career over family, of voyeurism over legitimate entertainment, of personal pleasure over group commitments—and conclude that the purpose of life is looking out for number one.

Instead of being lovingly trained in traditions and beliefs that can repel the temptation to use drugs, they instead learn a philosophy of the self that is completely consistent with drug abuse. After all, the founding father of today's extreme individualism, British philosopher John Stuart Mill, advocated the repeal of restrictions on opium trade because they "interfer[ed]" with "self-regarding" conduct.

It is a sad, obvious fact that by sampling drugs in their youth, today's parents lost some of the natural moral high ground and filial awe that are important assets for successful parenting. Yet they can still recover much if not all of this authority, if they will acknowledge that they committed an even bigger mistake by participating in the rupturing and casting aside of the customs and moral principles that successfully guided many prior generations.

If the rise in teenage drug use serves to drive this point home to the children of the '60s, then perhaps this unfolding crisis will have a redeeming aspect. For our deepest social problems will only be solved if those who have abetted them look within themselves, turn to their children, and express sincere regrets for bequeathing to their loved ones a society that is less safe, wholesome, and honorable than the one they inherited.

Andrew Peyton Thomas is deputy counsel to the governor of Arizona.

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What Hath the Beatles Wrought?

ROCK-&-ROLL

and the Collapse of Authority

by William J. Bennett

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I'm a lover of early rock-and-roll music. I played guitar in the 1950s, have a juke box in my home today, and still enjoy the good stuff. At the same time, I'm a strong critic of current hyperviolent, hateful, exceedingly sexualized and vulgar music.

It's reasonable to ask whether there is a link between these two forms of rock. Right from the beginning, rock was built, like many other products of the '60s, on icon-smashing, rebellion, and a heavy whiff of sex. The question becomes: Could we have enjoyed the good aspects of the rock-and-roll revolution without eventually ending up with the trash we now face in the 1990s? Or was there an inevitable, straight line of descent from the Beatle's "I Want To Hold Your Hand" (1964) to Cannibal Corpse's "Stripped, Raped, and Strangled" (1994)?

I think we could have had the good without the bad, but only under certain conditions. First let's acknowledge that rock music connects nicely to freedom. Rock deserves an honorable mention on the list of little innovations that eventually convinced the residents of Eastern Europe that they could live more interesting lives without communism. A 1980s Springsteen concert brought thousands to the Brandenberg Gate on both sides of Berlin's Wall.

Is there something intrinsic in the rock ethic that quickly leads down the slippery slope from liberty to libertinism? Perhaps. But I would point out that the slippery slope argument can be employed on almost any issue, and so has to be invoked with discretion.

There is obviously a sexual component to many rock-and-roll songs. But the same is also true of much poetry, literature, and painting—including great works. I have no illusions about rock being high art. I'm simply pointing out that containing the seeds of corruption and being corrupted aren't the same thing. The fact that something has the potential to push the envelope too far doesn't necessarily mean we'd be better off without it. The graphic scenes in "Natural Born Killers" are not a natural extension of the graphic scenes in "Macbeth."

Yes, rock-and-roll music put us on a risky slope, but so have many other expressions of freedom. *What is supposed to keep us from sliding down these slopes are cultural brakes.* And in the last three decades, many cultural brake lines have been cut.

Rock-and-roll music expresses emotions that are common in the young. Throughout history it has been the propensity of the young to rebel and push the limits. It has always been the responsibility of adults to push back. What was new starting in the 1960s was that many adults no longer pushed back; they no longer provided guidance to contain and channel these sentiments in a good direction. Adults, as Irving Kristol once wrote, forgot how to answer one of civilization's oldest questions: "Why not?"

It is up to adults generally and parents preeminently to provide children with "Why not?" answers on questions of drugs, drinking, sex, indolence, irresponsibility, and so forth. In the late 1960s, many parents became intellectually and morally disarmed; they did not register disapproval or insist on warranted restraint. This was a serious collapse, and it had disastrous consequences.

And this occurred not just in homes but also in places like corporate boardrooms. It was once understood that the entertainment industry would exercise corporate responsibility, even to the point of self-censorship. There were lines the profit-seekers would not cross. No more. We now see companies like Seagram/Universal, Sony, BMG and others exploiting the youth rebellion instinct—and even expanding it. Michael Green, the president of the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences, which awards the Grammies, recently said this (specifically in reference to drug use): "We happen to be an industry [rock music] that runs fast, it runs hard, it sells the manifestation of the rebellion that kids need to exercise. I mean, it's their job to rebel and we sell that rebellion."

This is inaccurate and irresponsible. But we see much the same philosophy in other industries: Saab tells us to "Peel off inhibitions"; Burger King instructs us that "Sometimes you gotta break the rules"; and Healthy Choice cereals assures us that if you want to be happy, "You gotta make your own rules." This is what one commentator calls "Liberation Marketing."

In an increasingly nihilistic cultural environment that says there are "No Limits," it's not surprising that some rock-and-roll music—like so many other things— has gone too far.

I'm willing to concede that rock music has played its part in what's gone wrong in American society since the 1960s. But putting the Chiffons, the Crystals, and the Shangri-La's at the root of our cultural collapse? As the latter group sung in its big hit, "No, no, no, no, no, no, no, no."

William J. Bennett is co-director of Empower America and John M. Olin fellow at the Heritage Foundation.

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Transcript

Words worth repeating

THE 'FRAGILE AMERICAN GIRL' MYTH

by Christina Hoff Sommers

Did you know that the United States Congress now categorizes American girls as "a historical under-served population"? In a recent education statute, girls are classified with African Americans, native Americans, the physically handicapped, and other disadvantaged minorities as a group in need of special redress. Programs to help girls who have allegedly been silenced and demoralized in the nation's sexist classrooms are now receiving millions of federal dollars. At the United Nations women's conference in Beijing, the alleged silencing and short-changing of American schoolgirls was treated as a pressing human rights issue.

Several popular books have appeared in recent years to build up the notion that ours is a "girl-poisoning culture." That phrase is Dr. Mary Piper's and her book, *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls,* has been at the top of the *New York Times* bestseller list. According to Piper, "Something dramatic happens to girls in early adolescence. Just as planes and ships disappear mysteriously into the Bermuda Triangle, so do the selves of girls go down in droves. They crash and burn."

Where did she get this idea? Where did the United States Congress get the idea that girls are a victim group? How did the "silencing" of American schoolgirls become an international human rights issue?

To answer that, consider some highlights of what might be called the myth of the incredible shrinking girl. The story epitomizes what is wrong with the contemporary women's movement. First, a few facts.

The U.S. Department of Education keeps records of male and female school achievement. They reveal that girls get better grades than boys. Boys are held back more often than girls. Significantly fewer boys than girls go on to college today. Girls are a few points behind in national tests of math and science, but that gap is closing. Meanwhile, boys are *dramatically* behind in reading and writing. We never hear about that gap, which is not shrinking.

Many more boys than girls suffer from learning disabilities. In 1990, three times as many boys as girls were enrolled in special education programs. Of the 1.3 million American children taking Ritalin, the drug for hyperactivity, three-quarters are boys. More boys than girls are involved in crime, alcohol, drugs.

Mary Piper talks about the "selves" of girls going down in flames. One effect of a crashing self is suicide. *Six times* as many boys as girls commit suicide. In 1992, fully 4,044 young males (ages 15 to 24) killed themselves. Among same-age females there were 649 suicides. To the extent that there is a gender gap among youth, it is boys who turn out to be on the fragile side.

This is not to deny that some girls are in serious trouble, or that we can't do better by girls, educationally and otherwise. What I am saying is, you cannot find any responsible research that shows that girls, as a group, are worse off than boys, or that girls are an underprivileged class. So, where did that idea come from? Therein lies a tale.

The reality is, the contemporary women's movement is obsessed with proving that our system is rigged against women. No matter what record of success you show them, they can always come up with some example of oppression. Never is good news taken as real evidence that things have changed. The women's movement is still fixated on victimology. Where they can't prove discrimination, they invent it.

I, for one, do not believe American women are oppressed. It is simply irresponsible to argue that American women, as a gender, are worse off than American men.

More women than men now go to college. Women's life expectancy is seven years longer than men's. Many women now find they can choose between working full-time, part-time, flex-time, or staying home for a few years to raise their children. Men's choices are far more constricted. They can work full-time. They can work full-time. Or they can work full-time.

The reason we hear nothing about men being victims of society, or boys suffering unduly from educational and psychological deficits, is because the feminist establishment has the power to shape national discussion and determine national policy on gender issues.

Feminist research is advocacy research. When the American Association of University Women released a (badly distorted) survey in 1991 claiming that American girls suffer from a tragic lack of self-esteem, a *New York Times* reporter got AAUW President Sharon Shuster to admit that the organization commissioned the poll in order to get data into circulation that would support its officers' belief that schoolgirls were being short-changed. Usually, of course, belief comes after, not before, data-gathering. But advocacy research doesn't work that way. With advocacy research, first you believe, and then you gather figures you can use to convince people you are right.

The myth of the short-changed schoolgirl is a perfect example of everything that's gone wrong with contemporary feminism. It's all there: the mendacious advocacy research, the mean-spiritedness to men that extends even to little boys, the irresponsible victimology, the outcry against being "oppressed," coupled with massive lobbying for government action.

The truth is, American women are the freest in the world. Anyone who doesn't see this simply lacks common sense.

Christina Hoff Sommers is the author of Who Stole Feminism? *This is adapted from her remarks at a December 1996 AEI conference.*

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In Real Life

THE DAILY WORK OF AMERICANS

ONE SHOT STOPPING

by Raymond Wisher

Police officers know that there are often two stories about any incident: the one that happened and the one the public reads about. Recently, a woman in my city displayed courage and intelligence in a deadly encounter with an assailant. By all rights she should have been held up as an example by the press. Instead, the media fell down on the job once again, keeping her name and most of the details of her ordeal confidential. I'll tell you what really happened, and then I'll tell you how the press played the story.

Early one morning, the woman, in her mid-50s, arose to start the day. To her horror, she found a masked and armed man blocking her path in her living room. The man demanded money and jewelry. She didn't have much of either. He slapped her and forced her back into the bedroom in search of her valuables. When he threatened her with a knife, she pointed him toward her jewelry box. Finding only costume jewelry, he began to beat her. She kept her head and told him where the "real jewels" were. While he was distracted, she retrieved a small handgun and aimed it at the man. He was unimpressed. He attacked her and she began to fire. During the struggle she was injured, though fortunately not seriously. His luck, on the other hand, ran out. He took a bullet through a major artery and fell dead.

The man was a violent career criminal just released two months earlier from state prison. His history of crime extended back a decade or more. In one deadly moment that woman solved more problems for the rest of society than 20 years of so-called rehabilitation had been able to accomplish.

IN ONE DEADLY MOMENT THAT WOMAN SOLVED MORE PROBLEMS FOR THE REST OF SOCIETY THAN 20 YEARS OF SO-CALLED REHABILITATION HAD BEEN ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH.

A hell of a lot of cops nodded their heads in silent satisfaction over his end. A proven incident where a handgun owned by a woman saved her life, and a predator was sent to hell. This was something to be publicized as a warning to other potential home invaders.

But here is how the press handled it: First, they briefly reported the incident. Then, as though to explain why a woman would own and then actually use a gun, the press started hinting that she might be a little eccentric. They reported that her lawn was not as neat as the others in the neighborhood. That several 911 calls had been reported from her home in the past, ignoring the fact that those calls stemmed from a problem with an ex.

The press made the victim the issue, and not what had been done to her. There was little or no acknowledgment of her bravery and cool-headness. There was no follow-up about the growing number of women who buy handguns for protection from violent crime.

Reporters wonder why more and more Americans don't trust what they present. It would serve the media right if one day they launched a story and nobody listened.

As for me, I think the lady should be congratulated. She did something a good deal of America has forgotten how to do: survive. As a detective and a husband whose wife and young daughter are at home alone all too often, I thank her.

Detective Raymond Wisher writes for The American Enterprise *from Florida.*

FIRE

by Blake Hurst

The floor joists in the house where I grew up were native walnut. In 1970, we tore down that house, and I spent the summer with a crowbar pulling nails and stacking lumber. My father used those beautiful walnut boards, along with lumber we salvaged from two other houses on our farm, to build a new home in 1971.

The foundations of the three old houses were made from a soft red brick that had been fired over a hundred years earlier in a neighboring town. Those bricks kept my brother and I busy for another summer, as we knocked off the mortar and hauled them up to the site of the new home, where they were used for a fireplace. Dad hired a mason to build a foundation and lay those bricks that I hated so much, and the rest of the work he did himself.

While the house was under construction, we spent a summer and fall living in a house with no running water and no heat except for a wood stove. The five of us lived in four rooms with a privy out back. I spent a couple of months that fall in an ankle-to-hip cast, and the trips down the hill to the outhouse on icy terrain with crutches were enough to cure

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me forever of any romantic notions about the good old days.

Then, on this recent January 17th, my parents' home burned to the ground.

The fire started in late afternoon, while the family was home. Mom, Dad, and my grandfather were able to get out without injury. The house almost immediately filled with smoke, and no one could enter it, including the firefighters with their protective gear. We cut a hole in the wall of my father's office with a chainsaw and saved some of his business records, but were unable to go any further into the house.

Fires are fought here in Northwest Missouri by volunteer fire departments. We had firemen from two neighboring towns, an ambulance from a third town, and a squad from the power company in a fourth. The firemen arrived quickly and worked very hard, at personal risk, but were unable to slow the fire at all. There were dozens of spectators, all of whom had different ideas about firefighting, and advice flowed freely. But the blaze started in the basement, spread rapidly, and all efforts to put it out failed miserably. It was clear within an hour that my folks would lose everything.

Almost everyone who offers condolences to my father and mother talks about the pictures they lost, or Mom's wedding ring, or all of the keepsakes that accrue like barnacles over 40 years of marriage. But what I miss most are those bricks, and the fireplace mantle that Dad fashioned from those walnut timbers, and the room divider made from the staircase spindles from my father's boyhood home.

We built the house as a family, and it was a testament to our ability to work together, and to my father's talent as a craftsman. When I drive today through the suburbs of Omaha and Kansas City, I see homes that are grander than that simple farmhouse, but their construction is shoddy in comparison. Those houses will change hands every few years, as corporations move employees, residents divorce, and people retire to planned communities. My folks' house was built for their lifetime, and they fully expected that one of their grandchildren would live in it after they are gone.

Within 48 hours of the fire, my folks had heard from hundreds of relatives, neighbors, and friends. The Baptist church cooked enough food to feed the multitudes, and the Lutherans outfitted my parents in new clothes. I don't know if you can draw any theological conclusions from the differing reactions of the two congregations, but both followed the Biblical injunction to care for the homeless.

Mom and Dad stayed with us until they found a house to rent, and we spent the first weekend after the fire brewing coffee for family, friends, and one Mary Kay cosmetic saleslady, who, realizing that my mother was in the market for, well, everything, didn't want to let a sales opportunity pass her by. My mother handled the unrequested makeover with aplomb.

WE BUILT THE HOUSE AS A FAMILY, AND IT WAS A TESTAMENT TO OUR ABILITY TO WORK TOGETHER, AND TO MY FATHER'S TALENT AS A CRAFTSMAN.

My father can fix anything that breaks on our farm, and when my brothers and I began farming, he often spent days doing nothing except repairing that which we had destroyed through the carelessness that seems to plague maledom until well into middle age. My mother was just as competent at repairing the emotional bumps and bruises of young men facing the world with a surfeit of testosterone and a deficit of good sense. We've always relied on the intelligence, wisdom, and wit of my parents, so knowing what to say when my mother complains of being homesick is not easy.

My parents' home was not only the headquarters of our extended family but the headquarters of our family farm. Nothing has been accomplished on Hurst Farms in the past 25 years without first being argued about in Mom's kitchen. Without a fixed place to plan the day's work and solve the problems of the world and the Tarkio football and basketball teams, we are at a loss. Consequently, my parents will have no choice but to rebuild on the same spot. And soon.

That is, of course, assuming they can eventually agree on a house plan.

Blake Hurst writes often for The American Enterprise.

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Dopeheads: The FDA Cracks Down on Parents

By Richard Miniter

Like a growing number of women entrepreneurs, Sunny Cloud saw a social problem and set out to solve it—but she isn't winning any kudos from the feds.

It all started when Sunny Cloud, a single mother of two teenage boys, caught the oldest one smoking marijuana. He was only experimenting, he said, but the Marietta, Georgia mother had to be sure. She knew drug addiction could ruin his life before he was old enough to figure what he wanted to do with it. Unsure of where to turn for help, she took him to the emergency room of a local hospital. She wanted him to take a drug test. The experience was "humiliating," she says.

Even worse in her view, her son now has a permanent medical record of drug use. She could help him fight drugs, but she can never help him remove the stamp of drug-user from his record.

Parents like Sunny Cloud have good reason to worry about drugs. More than 70 percent of teenagers say that illegal drugs are stored or sold in their schools, according to a recent Center for Addiction and Substance Abuse survey. Teen drug use has reached new highs. One in ten teens now use drugs on a monthly basis—up 32 percent since 1992, according to the latest National Household Survey of Drug Abuse. Cocaine use is up an astonishing 162 percent since 1992, according to the same federal report. Use of LSD and other hallucinogens is up a record-setting 183 percent over the same period. Almost 12 percent of high school seniors dropped acid in 1995, the highest rate recorded since the federal government starting tracking teen drug use in 1975.

Cloud knew she wasn't the only mother worried about her children becoming addicted to drugs, and she knew no one would want to be humiliated by doctors and hospital administrators the way she was. She also knew that parents didn't want to pay a lot for a drug test or have their child's privacy destroyed by a permanent medical record. So she started her own company, Parent's Alert, to provide private, at-home drug tests for parents. For $40 parents receive a box containing a small plastic cup, a temperature measuring strip (to prevent a child from substituting old urine for new), two saliva-sample strips, and a FedEx box and label addressed to a federally licensed laboratory with a long record of providing accurate drug tests for government agencies and corporations.

The tests are accurate and the results confidential. If the laboratory, which Cloud does not own or control, detects illegal drugs, the sample is automatically retested to verify the result. Each test sample is assigned a number in the test kit. Parents are notified of the results by phoning the laboratory and providing the test sample number.

Cloud didn't think her kit would be controversial. Each of the kits materials are readily available on the open market, and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) permits the use of *identical* test kits for the New York City Police Department and General Motors, among other government agencies and corporations. Furthermore, Parent's Alert's disclaimer plainly says that the company makes no claims about the test subject's health, nor does it tell parents what to do about the results. Cloud's lawyer assured her that her kit would not run afoul of any published FDA regulations. She went to work and managed to sell about 1,000 test kits.

At which point the FDA stepped in and cried halt. It seems they were following unwritten rules. An FDA investigator concluded that Parent's Alert was "a Class III Medical Device," thereby putting the Georgia homemaker in the same category as multinational manufacturers of x-ray and CAT scan machines. Being labeled "a Class III Medical Device manufacturer" essentially put Sunny Cloud out of business until the FDA could inspect her "factory," eyeball her paperwork, and grant her its specific approval, which would prove very hard to win.

Calling Cloud's test kit "a Class III Medical Device manufacturer" is a bit of bureaucratic legerdemain, contends her attorney. "Parent's Alert does not manufacture any product or conduct any drug-testing," Larry Pilot, Cloud's lawyer, wrote in a June 1996 letter to the agency.

What appeared to be the FDA's real motive for shutting down Cloud surfaced when her attorney gained access to internal FDA documents. Home tests for drugs will have "adverse consequences for the parent/child relationship," an FDA memo claimed. (Of course, the consequences are even more adverse for children addicted to drugs without help.) The FDA concluded that parents aren't equipped to handle results of tests that positively prove that their children are using illegal drugs unless they learn those results in the presence of a doctor or other medical professional.

The minutes of an FDA policy meeting removed all doubt about its motives. The FDA allows the sale of drug-testing kits "marketed exclusively for forensic purposes (e.g., law enforcement, employment)" but sales for teenagers are forbidden. Why the double standard? The FDA told Cloud's attorney it is concerned about "coercion and family discord."

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The FDA has long opposed making drug tests available to parents outside of a doctor's office. When the FDA's scientific advisory panel recommended that a home drug test called "Aware" be approved for over-the-counter sale, the senior staff overruled it. Today Aware is available only with a doctor's prescription, a move "which defeats the whole purpose," says House Commerce Committee Chairman Thomas J. Bliley (R-Va.). Bliley has held a series hearings to investigate the FDA's unwritten policy of opposition to home tests.

Under oath, senior FDA officials admitted that they had "no written policy" that forbade parents from drug-testing their children.

"Sunny Cloud's kit is as simple as can be—a jar, a cup, and a mailing label. It's the same kit used every day for drug-testing in the workplace. If your teenager took a job at the local fast-food joint, the boss could order [him to take] a test just like this—with no problems from the FDA," Bliley said. How, he demanded, can the FDA allow a test in the workplace and forbid the same test when given at home?

The FDA's Dr. Gutman bravely looked for subtle distinctions. Perhaps the bathrooms in which the tests were conducted were different. When Gutman suggested that the corporate urine tests might be "observationable," the hearing room broke into laughter. Finally Gutman had to surrender and admit the tests were identical. Then he revealed the agency's true objection: "The real difference is in the—what happens after the results have been analyzed and reported back...how is the information generated from the entire system used." The FDA, in other words, worried that parents' use of the test might lead to "family discord."

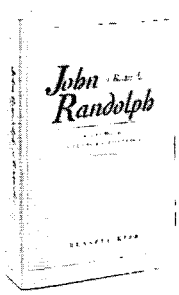
Four months later, under continuing pressure from Congress, the FDA finally backed down and allowed Sunny Cloud to sell her test kits to parents. "The good news," commented Rep. Bliley, "is that the Food and Drug Administration has decided that American parents are capable of testing their teenagers for drugs. It's a victory for Sunny Cloud, who risked criminal prosecution." But "the bad news," the Virginia lawmaker added, "is that the FDA took more than four months to decide. The bad news is that they felt compelled to stick their noses into this in the first place, especially when they can't handle the work already entrusted to them."

"The great American experiment," maverick Yale professor Willmoore Kendall once observed, is "to prove that self-government is possible." Self-government means allowing individuals to police themselves, provided that they pose no genuine threat to others. But trusting parents and children to draw their own conclusions from valid scientific tests of their own bodies was just too risky in the FDA's eyes. So much for self-government. What would have happened if Congress hadn't set the FDA straight before another generation got hooked on getting high?

Richard Miniter is creator and executive producer of "Enterprising Women," a national weekly radio series that profiles women executives and entrepreneurs.

Modern Editions of Classic Works for Today's Readers

JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE: A STUDY IN AMERICAN POLITICS
Fourth Edition
By Russell Kirk



This new fourth edition of a classic political biography incorporates the revisions provided by Russell Kirk shortly before his death in 1994. Included is a transcription of the first-hand account of Randolph's death that confirms information that historians have deemed apocryphal. Unique in the annals of American political history, John Randolph (1773-1833) was only twenty-six when he was elected to Congress in 1799. Rapidly he became the most forceful figure at the Capitol—and also, in the words of Dumas Malone, "a merciless castigator of iniquity."

Never before—nor since, in fact—has there been in American life so colorful and so principled an opponent to national mischief, nor so fiery an orator. Perhaps the quintessence of Randolph's eminently American credo is found in his famous declaration, "I love liberty; therefore I hate equality!"

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the Island Economist

America's Hong Kong

Threatened by Union and Clintonite Colonialism

By Ronald Bailey

The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) is a chain of 14 tiny islands directly north of Guam in the western Pacific. The island of Saipan is home to 90 percent of the commonwealth's population. For centuries, Spain administered the islands as colonial possessions; then they were sold to Germany and eventually handed over to Japan after World War I.

As the Second World War approached, the Japanese fortified the islands. U.S. troops invaded Saipan on June 15, 1944. It took 25 days of fierce fighting to secure the island at a cost of more than 3,000 dead American soldiers and more than 30,000 dead Japanese defenders. The islands are still littered with the debris of the battles: rotting gun emplacements, Japanese command posts and bunkers, rusting armored vehicles. Of the many war memorials that dot Saipan, the most sobering is at Suicide Cliff. From that precipice, hundreds of Japanese men, women, and children jumped several hundred feet to their deaths rather than surrender to the American invaders.

After the war, the poor and undeveloped islands were administered by the U.S. military, which closed them to outsiders because of a very elaborate, secret CIA covert-operations base on Saipan. In the 1970s, this sleepy tropical backwater began to negotiate a new status with the United States. This eventually resulted in a 1975 covenant that established the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands as a self-governing entity under the sovereignty of the United States. The relationship is made clear on island license plates, which proudly read "CNMI USA."

Essentially, the locals became U.S. citizens, but without the right to vote in presidential elections, and without federal income taxes. Although most federal laws apply, the covenant reserved some crucial areas to the control of the CNMI government, including minimum wage rates, immigration rules, and customs. In 1978, the islands established a democratically elected bicameral legislature with a Senate and a House of Representatives, an executive branch headed by a governor, and an independent judiciary.

Until the covenant, the Mariana Islands were an impoverished ward living off meager federal government handouts. In 1970, the 1,000 or so indigenous people who were employed had annual wages totaling $1.5 million, and the largest employer was the Trust Territory government. In 1970, the total number of hotel rooms in the islands was 83.

Even after the covenant, full economic takeoff had to wait for the conferring of American citizenship on CNMI residents to be finalized by various bureaucrats. But by 1986, three factors—the stability assured by affiliation with the United States; the opening of air service to Japan; and the abandonment of restrictions on foreign investment—converged to create a remarkable economic boom. A tourist flood resulted—the number of hotel rooms rose from 740 accommodating 117,000 visitors who spent $59 million in 1980, to 3,600 rooms for 650,000 tourists who spent $522 million in 1995. The second pillar of the CNMI economic miracle is the garment industry. It rose from essentially nothing in 1985 to a $419 million business in 1995. Total gross commercial revenue in the islands has grown from $244 million in 1985 to $1.5 billion in 1994.

What I found on a recent fact-finding trip to the Marianas was a true free-market success story. The economy grew at 13 percent per year from 1980 to '90, and per-capita GDP quadrupled from $2,400 to $10,000. Unemployment dropped from 15 percent to 4 percent. In addition, the Commonwealth slashed income taxes by 90 percent, cut capital gains taxes to half the U.S. rate, reduced excise taxes, and eliminated import duties. There are no inheritance, property, or sales taxes on the islands. Meanwhile, CNMI government revenues have increased from $5 million in 1978 to $220 million in 1996, and the U.S. contribution to government operations ended entirely in 1992.

WHAT I FOUND ON A RECENT FACT-FINDING TRIP WAS A TRUE FREE-MARKET SUCCESS STORY.

The flood of private investment in the Marianas soon ran up against a limit: There were not enough local people to fill the new jobs being created. The solution was hiring thousands of temporary "guestworkers."

Under the covenant, the CNMI has complete control over immigration. The hotels, garment factories, and construction firms currently employ 29,000 guestworkers, and guestworkers make up nearly half of the islands' population of 60,000. Some 20,000 of the nonresident workers are Filipinos, while 7,000 are from mainland China.

"If you look at a map, you will see that we are the first tropical beach immediately south of Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and the China coast. This means that we have

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enormous potential to reap the benefits of our geographic location. But we cannot achieve that potential with our tiny local population alone," says CNMI Governor Froilan Tenorio. "What kind of investment climate do you think we will have if I have to tell a prospective investor, 'Sorry, we can't supply enough local manpower, and the federal government won't let us bring in any more foreign workers?'"

The Governor's question is not merely a rhetorical one. Pushed by U.S. labor unions—who are upset by the prospect of a laissez-faire, loose wage, low-tax economic model blossoming under American sponsorship—and emboldened by instances of guestworkers being cheated and mistreated, the Clinton administration is threatening to clamp down on this mini-Hong Kong.

Allen Stayman, Director of the Office of Insular Affairs in the U.S. Department of the Interior, has threatened to take control of immigration and wage policy away from the CNMI government. Clinton officials "are firmly convinced that a gradual increase in the CNMI wage rate and the eventual full application of the Fair Labor Standards Act would benefit the economy," testified Stayman this past February in support of a bill that would force up CNMI minimum wages. Governor Tenorio, on the other hand, argued in his own House testimony that all such federal intervention will do "is ruin our economy…and assure that our Commonwealth will remain permanently dependent on federal assistance."

The irony is that these interventions are being proposed just when other Pacific territories are jealously eyeing the CNMI's humming economy. One hundred twenty miles to the south, Guam is trying to negotiate a covenant with the U.S. similar to the one the CNMI has, in which Guam would gain control over immigration and labor regulations. And even as Clinton administration officials attack the CNMI, they have had a change of heart that leaves them looking favorably at Guam's request. Why? In February, the *Washington Post* reported that Guam got the attention of the Clintonites after Governor Carl Gutierrez raised and delivered nearly $900,000 in combined contributions to the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign and the Democratic National Committee. These handsome campaign contributions made the citizens of Guam, who cannot vote in U.S. elections, the biggest donors to the Democratic Party per capita of any part of the U.S. Governor Gutierrez has met with President Clinton in person twice since making the contributions.

Even as Clinton administration officials attack the Marianas, they look favorably at Guam. Why? Guam got the attention of the Clintonites after Governor Carl Gutierrez delivered nearly $900,000 in contributions to the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign.

Maybe the CNMI missed a bet. If Governor Tenorio had hosted a fundraiser for Clinton, and then flown to the White House for a coffee date, he might not be facing today's threat to his commonwealth's right to direct its own economy.

Certainly there are problems in the CNMI. One is a large local bureaucracy. The 1997 budget shows that nearly 4,600 of the 27,500 U.S. citizens on the islands work for the government. The islands' long period of federal dependency fed cultural attitudes that are found all too often in poor countries around the world today. "Our people were enticed out of the fields and fishing boats and into desk jobs where they were taught that working for the government was the road to riches and that other people would do the dirty work," Governor Tenorio testified at a recent Congressional hearing. "Worse, we were inculcated with a welfare mentality. Uncle Sam paid the bills and cleaned up the messes, and we came to rely on that."

When I suggested to one government official on my recent visit that too many locals were working for the government, he answered: "Well, they're not trained for anything else. If we didn't pay them to work for the government, they'd be on welfare." A tourist boat captain joked to me that the traditional Marianas' greeting, "Hafa Adai," really means "half a day," which is all that an islander wants to work. Several other locals proudly cited the claim that islanders consume more Budweiser per capita than any other people in the world. Anheuser-Busch has twice sent out a vice-president to see what is going on.

There is also little question but that some guestworkers have been mistreated. Government officials do not deny this, and say they are making new efforts to enforce contracts and apply existing labor standards. "Employers and others who abuse our guestworkers are no better than common criminals," testified Tenorio on Capitol Hill. "They are being investigated, prosecuted, and convicted of crimes or administrative violations."

The Governor argues "It would be impossible to understand how [federal agencies] could possibly do a better job in the CNMI than we are now doing." Taking over immigration control and raising minimum wages would only destroy economic opportunities and hurt employees and employers alike. The current minimum in CNMI garment factories, $2.90 per hour, is already more than ten times the average wage in mainland China, which the *New York Times* has recently reported to be 28 cents per hour. The overwhelming majority of CNMI guest workers request that their labor contracts be renewed upon expiration. Governor Tenorio's summary plea to Congress is a simple one: "Don't permit Washington to micro-manage us or impose its policies and theories on us. Don't send us back to the old cycle of dependency on federal handouts."

Ronald Bailey is a Washington writer and TV producer. This article grows out of research done during his first-ever junket paid for by the government of a tropical paradise.

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Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—*Cicero*

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Barry Goldwater: New Leftist?

"When the histories are written," Barry Goldwater told his friend and speechwriter Karl Hess in 1968, "I'll bet that the Old Right and the New Left are put down as having a lot in common and that the people in the middle will be the enemy." Indeed, what self-respecting hippie wouldn't prefer an quasi-libertarian like Goldwater to the soulless organization men of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations?

Observers marveled at the number of Goldwater kids who joined Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). If the liberals were going Clean for Gene, some conservatives got hairy after Barry. Carl Oglesby, former president of SDS, made the link explicit with his declaration that "the Old Right and the New Left are morally and politically coordinate."

Karl Hess and the ebullient economist Murray Rothbard were jovial prophets of Left/Right convergence. As Rothbard put it in 1968, "Twenty years ago I was an extreme right-wing Republican, a young and lone 'Neanderthal' (as the liberals used to call us) who believed, as one friend pungently put it, that 'Senator Taft had sold out to the socialists.' Today, I am most likely to be called an extreme leftist, since I favor immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, denounce U.S. imperialism, advocate Black Power, and have just joined the new Peace and Freedom Party. And yet my basic political views have not changed by a single iota in these two decades!" (Rothbard soon soured on the New Left for its "arrogant self-isolation from Middle America.")

The personification of this Left/Right agenda-bending was Karl Hess, a Republican ghostwriter who threw off his suit and tie and donned a workshirt, grew a beard, learned to use an acetylene torch, and took up welding and revolution. The sunny Hess, who remained an ardent admirer of his old boss Goldwater even as he marched on Fort Dix, argued that the American Right had been "individualistic, isolationist, decentralist—even anarchistic" until the Cold War reconciled conservatives to the leviathan state.

Why, Hess asked, should the Right lead cheers for a war cooked up in the university labs of New Frontier-Great Society liberalism? With utter sincerity, he published in the New Left journal *Ramparts* an audacious "Open Letter to Barry Goldwater" in which he asked Mr. Conservative to join the New Left.

This was not as loony as it might sound. In his 1968 Senate campaign, Goldwater told University of Arizona students that he had "much in common with the anarchist wing of SDS," notably opposition to the draft and hostility to overgrown institutions. What with the interminable war, talk of wage-and-price controls, and the Nixon administration creating new government agencies every week, might the independent Arizonan break ranks?

Karl Hess thought so. Because you are "the most essentially honest and potentially radical major American political figure," he told the Senator, "you will find yourself on this side of the barricades."

Hess's pitch was a mixture of flattery and challenge. Hadn't the Senator ever wondered why "the largest corporations... so strenuously opposed you and supported Johnson....Could it have been that you might not have played ball quite so well as he?"

Hess even fit Goldwater for a dashiki: "Senator, if you had been born black, and poor, you would now be a Panther or I seriously misjudge the strength of your character and convictions."

He concluded: "I will have to admit that there is not exactly a long line queued up on the New Left waiting to hear from you. But there's a hell of a lot more room for you over here...than in a Republican Party which regards Everett Dirksen as a hero and you as a maverick."

Goldwater stayed put.

But he also stayed Karl Hess's friend. There is an enduring image of Karl at his shaggiest, protesting the war outside the Capitol. Word was that the demonstration might turn violent, so even the putatively antiwar members of Congress kept away. Only one politician showed up: Senator Barry Goldwater, who waded into the throng, parting the astonished crowd—"is that really Barry Goldwater?"—and asking the demonstrators, "Where's Karl? Where's Karl Hess?"

They met. They shook hands in the midst of the tumult—two old friends, divided by politics, but wise enough to know that politics are ephemeral, and that the real thing, the lasting thing, is friendship.

—Bill Kauffman

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BookTalk

MUDDLE OF THE ROAD

By Doug Bandow

The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society
By Amitai Etzioni,
Basic Books, 314 pages, $25

It is never easy to know what to make of sociologist Amitai Etzioni. He is the well-published advocate of a philosophy called communitarianism. At times he appears to be a quasi-libertarian; at other times he sounds like a mild social conservative. His latest book, *The New Golden Rule*, suggests that he falls always uneasily, and usually incoherently, in between.

The premise of Etzioni's book is that there is a conflict between liberty and virtue. Thus, he explains, he intends to dispute "a widely held notion in the West: that more freedom is better than less." In his view, there is "a wide array of reasons for preferring some measure of order, and hence some limits on one's choices."

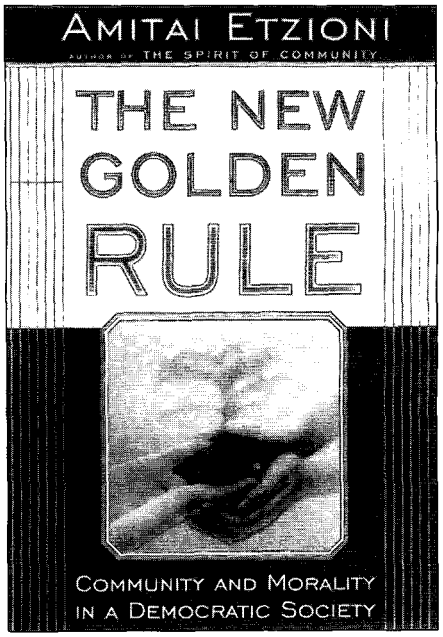
There is, of course, nothing new in this argument. Unfortunately, Etzioni never clarifies the kind of liberty he is talking about. The West has long been known for its dedication to political freedom, but the classical liberals who created the new nation on the American continent weren't opposed to order. They assumed the existence of a moral code formed and enforced by a range of social institutions.

Modern liberalism, in contrast, favors multitudinous legal restrictions over economic choice combined with minimal restraint, political or private, over sexual choice. The result is essentially libertinism, not libertarianism. Yet Etzioni often has trouble distinguishing between the two.

Such muddles distract from the worthwhile elements of *The New Golden Rule*. For instance, Etzioni seeks to discover the elements of a good society. It's an important question, but Etzioni seems skeptical that one can simultaneously believe in individual liberty and worry about the moral infrastructure of society. He treats classical and modern liberals as one, declaring that "many of these individualists reject the very notion of a good society" and "are much more likely to protest an unnecessary government regulation than face the moral issues raised by children having children."

The fact that classical liberals tend to view freedom as the highest political end doesn't indicate a lack of interest in a good society, however. A philosopher such as Lord Acton believed liberty should be exercised within a larger moral culture; he just thought coercion was a poor means of reaching that end. Alas, Etzioni, rather than plumbing the issue of a good society, simply claims the middle ground between liberty and order: communitarianism nourishes "both social virtues and individual rights" and "requires a carefully maximized equilibrium of order and autonomy, rather than the 'maximization' of either."

Well, yes, but Etzioni isn't the first person to think of this. Adam Smith was a moral philosopher as well as an economist—author of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* as well as *The Wealth of Nations*. The real challenge is to draw the proper balance, which Etzioni doesn't much help us do. Perhaps the greatest flaw in Etzioni's philosophy is that it appears to be rooted in nothing. He complains that for classical liberals "the quest to maximize liberty, to extend it all one can (as long as others are not harmed) is a universal principle and not one that is historically or socially bound."



He disagrees with such an approach, arguing that "it is futile to argue that people in general require more liberty or more order, more individual rights or more social responsibilities, more license or more moral duties. The answer is profoundly affected by the sociohistorical context."

Does Etzioni really believe freedom to be a relative value? Can't the government in Beijing and the one in Washington be judged by the same basic standards? If liberty is important, as Etzioni apparently believes, then it is important irrespective of the particular "sociohistorical context." The Holocaust was wrong for all societies and all times, something Etzioni implicitly acknowledges when he declares that individual rights reflect "a value that lays claims on all people." How he derives these rights when they conflict with a particular cultural community and sociohistorical context is unclear.

Similar confusions mar otherwise interesting discussions of the relationship between responsibilities and rights, the role of law in a communitarian society, the impact of human nature, and such issues as policing and privacy. Moreover, Etzioni always seems to end up in some unsatisfying middle position—advocating a little, not a lot, of regulation, for instance.

Perhaps the most important issue that Etzioni confronts is values formation. How do we choose "core values" for our society? He dismisses differences between conduct in the private and the public realms, ignoring, however, questions of who is

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harmed. Abuse of children or a spouse is immoral because it hurts others; there are far different moral implications for actions that, like drug use, have mostly willing victims.

We need "a new golden rule," concludes Etzioni. And who could disagree with his vision of "a profound commitment to moral order that is basically voluntary, and to a social order that is well balanced with socially secured autonomy"? Unfortunately, the devil is in the details, and it is the details that make *The New Golden Rule* such a frustrating read.

Doug Bandow is a senior fellow at the Cato Institute and the author of several books, including Beyond Good Intentions: A Biblical View of Politics.

I'M OK, YOU'RE OK, TO HELL WITH THE KIDS

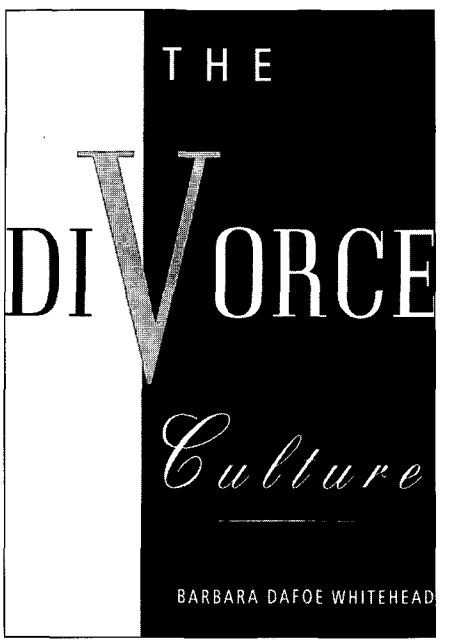
By Brian Hook

The Divorce Culture
By Barbara Dafoe Whitehead,
Alfred A. Knopf, 224 pages, $24

The last prominent official to take a clear and principled stand on the dissolution of the American family was Dan Quayle, who in 1992 criticized producers of the "Murphy Brown" television show for rose-coloring illegitimacy. The press response was less than dispassionate. Quayle was mocked with the sort of derision the media usually reserve for people like, well, Dan Quayle. To those watching from off stage, the political lesson was obvious, and no elected official since Quayle has dared touch the issue so pointedly. Divorce and illegitimacy have replaced Social Security as the third rail of American politics.

But shortly after Quayle's speech, there appeared a cover story in *The Atlantic Monthly* with an incendiary title: "Dan Quayle Was Right." The author was Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, a happily married mother of three armed with a Ph.D. in American social history. Whitehead has now published an enormously valuable and timely book which explains how divorce became an entitlement and how it is blighting the lives of children.

The book is not a brief against divorce as such, nor is it a nostalgic screed preoccupied with decades long past. It is, rather, a well-reasoned, objective critique of the ideas that ignited a revolution in how Americans understand marriage and parenthood. Whitehead considers the moral assumptions and empirical claims that ushered in "our divorce culture," and makes an incisive critique.



Almost half of all children in the United States will experience divorce before they reach 18; half of that number will suffer through a second divorce. The proximate cause of the divorce revolution, Whitehead argues, is psychology. In the mid- to late 1960s Americans began to change their minds about the purpose of marriage and the effects of divorce on children. The engine that drove this revaluation was powered by speculative psychological theories trumpeting divorce as a vehicle for individual growth and freedom. A new ethic cast divorce as a multifaceted odyssey of the self, journeying from sickness to health, from slavery to freedom, from darkness to light. After reading countless popular books with titles like *Growing Through Divorce* and *Our Turn: Women Who Triumph in the Face of Divorce*, Whitehead observes, "At the center of virtually every book is the questing self, seeking and eventually achieving a new identity"—the self.

Psychology's primary goal has been to foster "authentic," value-creating, liberated selves, unfettered by societal "roles." This ethic owes its intellectual origins to late nineteenth-century German thought that went beyond good and evil, into the nihilistic abyss. To the extent that Americans liberated themselves from traditional morality and religion in favor of psychology, the moral basis for making judgments about the decision to divorce vanished. Whitehead avers, "The new ethic of divorce was morally relativistic: There could be no right or wrong reasons for divorce; there were only reasons, which it was the task of therapy to elicit and affirm."

As a consequence of this ethic—which recognizes the rights and needs of the liberated self but has nothing to say about the responsibilities of the obligated self—there could be no rationale for the legal or social regulation of divorce. "If the divorce experience was an inner journey of the sovereign self, what right had anyone to place impediments in the way?" Hence, no-fault divorce; hence, the disappearance of stigma.

By the late '60s, all obstacles were removed—especially the best interests of children. The most valuable contribution Whitehead makes is dispelling once and for all the sophistic claim that unhappy parents are not obligated to stay married for the sake of their children. She documents that for most of our nation's history, the well-being of children was the central reason for avoiding divorce. "Most Americans believed that divorce imposed such severe and lasting hardships on children that it should be avoided except in marriages torn by violence or other terrible abuses." Personal unhappiness was not considered just cause for divorce because the children's right to an unbroken home took precedence over whether parents might themselves be finding happiness in marriage. "Society assumed that parents would be able to work out their differences (or to at least conceal them) more readily than children could manage the problems that came with divorce."

But popular psychology and a legion of therapists declared in favor of the parents. Their theory was that if parents sought their own satisfactions first, the children's happiness would follow, a form of reasoning that one writer termed "psychological trickle-down." Thus a new measure of child

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well-being emerged: the individual marital satisfaction of each parent. Therapy was enlisted to make children resilient and "divorce proof." Whitehead devotes an instructive chapter to examining divorce books for children, which are designed with the explicitly therapeutic purpose of making kids feel better about their parents' divorce by providing "just causes" for it.

But all the reasons in the world cannot alter the torrent of destabilizing forces that divorce unleashes into children's lives: loss of residential stability, increased economic vulnerability, stepparents, custody fights, diminished paternal presence, among others. Concerning weakened paternal bonds, Whitehead observes that for many households, there is now a "paper fatherhood, symbolized by three documents: the birth certificate, the child support check, and the sentimental greeting card."

Whitehead concludes her book with the chapter "Dismantling the Divorce Culture," wherein she argues that "the cultural case for divorce has been based on misleading claims, false promises, and bankrupt ideas." Psychology, not to say most feminist literature, encourages a solipsism that dissolves families. If the nation is to ever see a reduction in the pathologically high divorce rate, Whitehead says, it must happen in the context of our civic and religious traditions. These traditions speak to the moral obligations associated with marriage, they prescribe roles and duties, and, best of all, they cheer us on to transcend our mere selves for the good of those we love. Especially children.

Brian Hook is a legislative aide to Governor Terry E. Branstad of Iowa.

THOREAUS IN OUR MIDST

By Eric Marti

No Law Against Mercy: Jailed for Sheltering a Child from the State
By Barbara Lyn Lapp and Rachel B. Lapp,
Hand of Hope Press, 428 pages, $24.95

Barbara Lyn Lapp and her sister Rachel fit no criminal profile. They were born in the 1960s to parents who had left Amish society because, in their view, it placed tradition before Biblical principle. There was no television in their Mennonite home; hymn-singing and Bible-reading were the regular pastimes. Their family farming business, Lapp Produce, is known throughout western New York's Chautauqua County, near Buffalo. In a life filled with work and worship, the golden rule wasn't merely a convenient saying—it was a divine commandment.

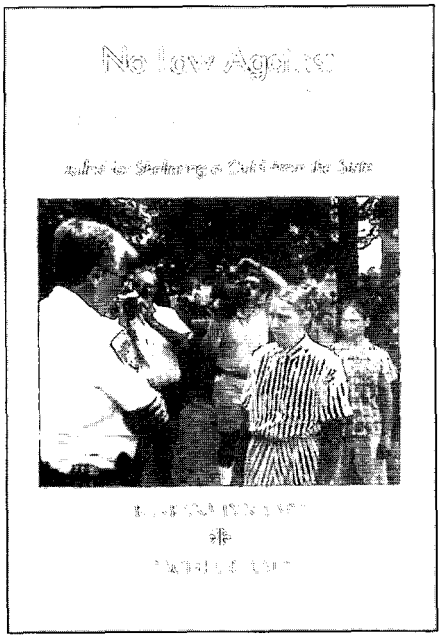
But in 1993, the Lapp sisters were tried and convicted of crimes against the state. Each served eight months in jail. In *No Law Against Mercy*, the sisters recount how a single act of conscience incurred the wrath of the local authorities.

It was in April of that year that a man named Donald Stefan contacted Barbara Lyn in her role as head of Chautauqua County's chapter of VOCAL (Victims of Child Abuse Laws). He was desperate to get his 15-year-old son Billy out of an institution in which a judge had placed the boy. Stefan had previously admitted to striking his son when disciplining him, and Billy claimed that his father had sexually molested him (a charge he later retracted, saying his mother had paid him to lie). Now confined to the Bradford Children's Home, Billy was terrified and wanted to go home.

Barbara Lyn agreed that Stefan should rescue Billy. Certain that the authorities would target the father, she offered to shelter Billy at her family's farm. Stefan was jailed for refusing to disclose his son's whereabouts, but eventually revealed them. When agents arrived at the farm, Barbara Lyn, with family members and neighbors standing ready, refused them entry.

Within days, she was indicted. On the day she was to be arraigned, she and a group of protesters demonstrated outside the courthouse. When officers attempted to take Barbara Lyn inside, a skirmish ensued. She and four others were arrested: her sister Rachel, her father Jacob, her brother-in-law, and a family friend. The five were variously charged with obstruction of governmental administration, resisting arrest, and rioting. Barbara Lyn would face two trials—one for sheltering Billy, the other for charges issuing from the melee.

Throughout their trials, the defendants asserted that the court had no rightful claim over them—much to the judge's and the prosecutor's consternation. Jacob maintained what his daughters called a "sermon of silence," a steadfast refusal to engage in any aspect of the proceedings lest he thereby acknowledge the court's legitimacy. Representing themselves, Barbara Lyn and Rachel urged the jurors to disregard the judge's instruction on the law and to act instead on their conscience. In the end, however, the jury convicted all five defendants (though only the brother-in-law was found guilty on all charges); Barbara Lyn was convicted at both her trials.



If the details of the case are as the book portrays them, the sheltering of Billy Stefan can be seen only as a genuine act of mercy. Life with father may have been rough at times, but Billy preferred it to the Children's Home. When he tried to tell this to the judge, the court would not even hear his plea.

The Lapps explain their deep mistrust of the state's child-protection system, which operates under a veil of secrecy, its proceedings sealed from public scrutiny, its cases decided by a judge rather than a jury. The justification for this closed system—protection of children's privacy—sounds laudable. But, say the Lapps, parents' rights and children's welfare are trampled in the process. In her preface, Barbara Lyn reveals that she once was a victim of this system: Her son, whom she had adopted from a Belize orphanage when he was seven, developed behavioral problems (as is common among children who have been abandoned and housed in an institution), and

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the authorities charged her with neglect.

The Lapps' ordeal shows how far the nation has strayed from its individualist roots. That a jury would consign these two women to jail bespeaks a culture that places obedience to the rules above the dictates of individual conscience.

"Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator?" asked America's most celebrated civil disobedient, Henry David Thoreau, in 1849. Today the Lapps answer with an unequivocal "no."

Eric Marti is a writer living in Palo Alto, California.

CLOSE SESAME?

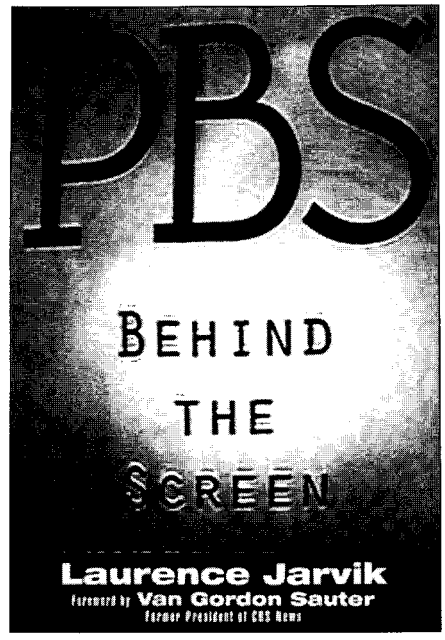
By Ernest W. Lefever

PBS: Behind the Screen
By Laurence Jarvik,
Forum, 336 pages, $25

Like many other viewers, I have enjoyed *Upstairs, Downstairs* and Milton Friedman's *Free to Choose* on public television. My toddler grandchildren have been transfixed by Big Bird and Barney. But should these and other less worthy PBS offerings—viewed on a given day by only about two percent of the American public—receive tax money from Washington?

In his carefully documented book, Laurence Jarvik, cultural studies fellow at the Capital Research Center, provides a critical analysis of the origin and significance of PBS. He identifies its three founders as former CBS News producer Fred Friendly, Ford Foundation president McGeorge Bundy, and John W. Gardner, who, like Bundy, was a foundation executive and a high federal official in the 1960s.

Jarvik argues that PBS was an instrument of the Great Society, serving as both a messenger and the message of what big government should do to uplift the American people. Like the Kennedy Center and the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, PBS promotes the agenda of the liberal political-cultural elite. While other Great Society programs dispense food stamps and cash, PBS dispenses ideas. Money as such may be neutral, but ideas are not—they have moral consequences. And a free society is jeopardized when its government promotes a particular ideological agenda, especially one that impinges on matters of taste and conscience. Jarvik makes a strong case, though bias admittedly is sometimes in the eye of the beholder.



In 1961, Jack Kennedy's FCC chairman, Newton Minow, called commercial TV a "vast wasteland." In his view, the three profit-driven networks could not provide what was best for the American people. Like Gardner, he argued that "excellence" could be promoted by a cultural elite willing to stand up to the mediocrity encouraged by market forces. What was needed was a non-profit network committed to the public good. The answer, PBS, has received both federal funds and hundreds of millions of dollars from the Ford Foundation, among others. Its major program decisions have been determined by a largely self-anointed club made up of officials of PBS and big foundations, with the tacit though increasingly critical approval of Congress. To an alarming extent, says Jarvik, PBS has been an instrument of liberal Democrats.

As a hybrid government-foundation fiefdom, PBS may have helped to correct some of the banality of Minow's "vast wasteland." Certainly it has broadcast fine cultural and educational offerings. But many of its programs have carried a liberal bias. Even its nature specials often take a particular environmentalist slant, without providing countervailing views. Inevitably, PBS became an ideological combatant in the cultural war.

So how did Milton Friedman's *Free to Choose* come to be numbered among such PBS miniseries blockbusters as Kenneth Clark's *Civilization* (1970), Carl Sagan's *Cosmos* (1980), and Ken Burns's *Civil War* (1990)? The anomaly apparently resulted from a fortuitous coming together of Robert Chitester, station manager of WQLN in Erie, Pennsylvania, and Allen Wallis, a Corporation for Public Broadcasting member. Both wanted to rebut the PBS showing of John Kenneth Galbraith's *Age of Uncertainty*, which Chitester called a socialist, redistributionist, big-government tract.

Wallis convinced Friedman to do the series and Chitester became its producer. The project received only tepid support and no money from PBS, but it won grants from the Scaife, Olin, Reader's Digest, and other foundations, and after a protracted internal struggle—recounted here in convincing detail—PBS agreed to air *Free To Choose*. It became a smashing success despite the bad time slot given it by the network.

Documenting the "corrosive effect of federal dollars on the system," Jarvik concludes that America is not getting its money's worth from PBS expenditures of $2 billion a year (only 14 percent directly from the federal treasury). If the subsidy were terminated and PBS vanished, the highly profitable Sesame Street and most other programs would be scooped up by other broadcasters. This would end PBS "propaganda," to use Jarvik's word, and free up the competition of ideas. The "vast wasteland" would be a vast supermarket unencumbered by government-sponsored ideology.

Ernest W. Lefever is a senior fellow of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C.

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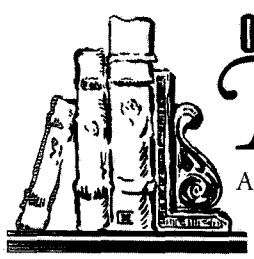

off The Shelf

A REGULAR REVIEW OF CLASSIC, OVER-LOOKED, NEWLY RELEVANT, OR OTHERWISE DESERVING OLDER BOOKS

STEAM OFF EMERSON'S KETTLE

By Robert Koch

Essays (1841, 1844)
By Ralph Waldo Emerson,
HarperCollins, 438 pages, $13

Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* cites Ralph Waldo Emerson about as often as Franklin, Jefferson, and Lincoln combined. Prophet and cheerleader for nineteenth-century America, the Sage of Concord is now little read. Yet the two volumes of his *Essays,* based on journals and lectures, are as valuable now as a century and a half ago.

"Experience" and "History," "Nature" and "Politics," and above all "Self-Reliance" are profoundly American. Often for $10 to $75 each, Emerson gave 1,500 lectures in 300 towns across 20-odd states. He delivered popular mosaics of ancient wisdom from West, East and everyday experience. His friend Thomas Carlyle found the essays "a bag of duckshot held together by canvas," but Emerson claimed, "I am a rocket manufacturer."

Meanwhile, Americans assayed Jacksonianism, compromised on slavery, and slid toward war. Settlers pounded into Indian lands and manufacturing reshaped the East and Middle West. Life, liberty, and property had been digested into "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," except for those Americans who were property.

Emerson knew illness and the deaths of his young wife and a son. He observes: "[L]ockjaw that bends a man's head back to his heels; hydrophobia that makes him bark at his wife and babes; insanity that makes him eat grass; war, plague, cholera, famine, indicate a certain ferocity in nature, which...must have its outlet by human suffering."

Dour Carlyle tried to show Emerson the devil in the "lowest parts of London." In England, Emerson warns "The incessant repetition of the same handwork dwarfs the man, robs him of his strength, wit, and versatility, to make a pin-polisher, a buckle maker, or any other specialty." Would industrial America do the same to the farmer-villagers he knew and valued? Emerson notes wryly that "Yankee trade...takes bank notes—good, bad, clean, ragged—and saves itself by the speed with which it passes them off....In skating over thin ice our safety is in our speed."

"In a series of which we do not know the extremes, and believe that it has none...we wake...on a stair." History may record "the mind common to all individual men," but he adds, "Why should we grope among the dry bones of the past? The sun shines today also." Counterweight to the Old World lay westward.

The new breed must rely on Nature, suggested Emerson, not so much woods and water as individual experience of the vital universe, of which man is the best fruit. As source of all thought and action, Nature reveals a fundamental, but complex, plan. "Life is wonderful," but "a series of surprises" that reveal "two sides, a good and an evil....We must reconcile the contradictions [without introducing] wild absurdities into our thinking." Single sentences never define the whole truth, and "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." Emerson, expecting nothing, was "always full of thanks for moderate goods. I accept the clangor and jangle of contrary tendencies."

During Emerson's day, the two major political parties seemed befuddled by the nagging embarrassment of slavery in the Faustian union of slave and free states. Emerson found that one party (the Democrats) had the better program, the other (the Whigs) the better men. After Webster's compromise on slavery, he thunders: "The word liberty in the mouth of Mr. Webster sounds like the word love in the mouth of a courtezan." But Lincoln's election was "sublime, the pronunciation of the masses of America against Slavery."

Emerson felt democracy best because "every law and usage [is] alterable; we may make as good; we may make better....The law is only a memorandum." Although "Democracy...runs to anarchy...in the state, and in the schools, it is indispensable to resist... consolidation of all men into a few men." A citizenry of men and women of character makes possible less government. "We think our civilization near its meridian," he suggests, "but we are yet only at the cock-crowing and the morning star."

Emerson rhapsodizes that "Banks and tariffs, the newspaper and caucus...are flat and dull to dull people, but rest on the same foundation of wonder as [ancient] Troy....America is a poem in our eyes: its ample geography dazzles the imagination."

In *Leaves of Grass* Walt Whitman proclaimed that "I was simmering, simmering, simmering; Emerson brought me to boil." In burgeoning America, Whitman was not alone.

Robert Koch, a former professor and dean, hosts a radio show on Rochester, N.Y. station WXXI.

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the Digest

SUMMARIES OF IMPORTANT NEW RESEARCH FROM THE NATION'S UNIVERSITIES, THINK TANKS, AND INVESTIGATIVE PUBLICATIONS

POLITICS

Hiding the Money

Penelope Lemov, "Fiscal Tricks for the Fat Years," in Governing *(February 1997), 1100 Connecticut Avenue N.W. #1300, Washington, D.C. 20036.*

Accepted wisdom says that states with balanced budget amendments use arcane accounting tricks to hide budget deficits. But according to *Governing*'s Lemov, states now have a new problem—budget surpluses. Both California and Texas, for example, expect to have budget surpluses of at least $1 billion this fiscal year. So accountants in state capitals are frantically trying to create tricks to make these surpluses disappear.

Most states are in fine financial shape for several reasons. The robust national economy ensures low unemployment and rising payroll taxes. The welfare reform bill means falling welfare caseloads and more federal money to help states fund welfare checks. And by eschewing new state-funded regulations, Congress has rendered obsolete the reserve funds states previously created to pay for unfunded federal mandates.

State accountants often create surpluses on purpose, by using a technique called "revenue lowballing," in which accountants create budgets based on artificially low forecasts of tax revenue. These lowball estimates lead to a surplus at the end of the fiscal year, which the governor can use as a political reward. In North Carolina, for instance, revenue lowballing produced a $700 million surplus that Democratic Governor Jim Hunt and his liberal allies sought for education and environmental programs.

Lemov argues that revenue lowballing is a major reason why three-quarters of the states had surpluses in the last fiscal year. (Only Tennessee, Montana, and Maryland had fewer taxes than predicted.) But she predicts that the states will continue to underestimate tax collections as long as they can arbitrarily ensure surpluses at the end of the fiscal year.

No Jihad Likely

Zachary Kambell, "Fundamental Misconceptions: Islamic Foreign Policy," in Foreign Policy *(Winter 1996/97), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2400 N Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.*

In the wake of the Cold War, some scholars have argued that Islamic fundamentalism will pose the same threat to the West as did Soviet Communism. But Harvard's Kambell argues that "Islamic fundamentalists in power do not necessarily represent a threat to international security."

Islamic fundamentalists divide the world in two: the *umma*, or Islamic world, and everyone else. The *umma*'s goal is to unite all Islamic states into a single nation ruled by Islamic law and to have boundaries created by colonial powers—such as between Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, or between Syria and Lebanon—erased.

No evidence, Kambell writes, suggests that the fundamentalists desire a *jihad* (holy war) against Europe, Asia, or the United States. While terrorism should be contained, Islamic foreign policy lacks "a compelling ideological reason for violence against the United States." Nor should Western strategists fear fundamentalist nations' terminating the West's oil supply or raising oil prices to unreasonable levels. Fundamentalists, Kambell argues, learned from the '70s energy crises that higher oil prices only encourage alternative energy sources. It's likely Islamic fundamentalists will strive to maintain low oil costs in order to ensure continued Western dependence on foreign oil.

True, Islamic fundamentalism has the potential to make the Muslim world more chaotic. But Kambell argues that it's not America's interest to worry about whether an Islamic nation is fundamentalist or secular. "Islamic fundamentalism ought not to matter to the non-Muslim world," he argues, any more "than Québécois nationalism matters in Thailand."

ECONOMICS

Speeding Medicine to Patients

Noel D. Campbell, Making Drugs Safe and Available Without the FDA. *National Center for Policy Analysis, 12655 North Central Expressway #720, Dallas, Texas 75243.*

Thanks to federal regulation, new drugs take longer and longer to reach the market. In the early '60s, it typically took around six years for a pharmaceutical company to produce a new drug and then have the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approve it. By the late '80s, the average time rose to 16 years. In fiscal year 1995, the FDA only approved 33 new drugs and spent an average of 28 months studying each application—even though, by law, the agency is supposed to spend no more than 18 months.

Congress is considering ways to make drug regulation speedier, including allowing the creation of independent review boards to assist FDA regulators. But Camp-

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bell of George Mason University believes a better solution would be to turn drug regulation over to the private sector.

He proposes a private organization to approve new drugs just as Underwriters Laboratories (UL) approves electrical devices. Every year, over 900 UL engineers certify 14,000 different products—everything from toasters to windshields to air conditioners. Over 40,000 clients submit products to UL and pay for testing. These clients have no control over UL, but they know consumers will pay more for products certified safe and effective by a third party.

If drug companies were allowed to submit their products to a third party for certification, the certifier would have no reason to approve a dubious drug, since it could be sued if harm resulted from a product it approved. Under Campbell's proposal, uncertified drugs could also be released to the public, but he suspects doctors, fearful of lawsuits, would be reluctant to prescribe them. These experimental drugs would be available to patients dying of incurable diseases, who cannot currently obtain them without a bureaucrat's approval.

Privatizing the drug review process, Campbell concludes, would ensure that "we would get safe and effective drugs, quickly and efficiently. We would be free to choose our own level of risk."

SOCIETY

Uncle Sam: Slumlord

Howard Husock, "We Don't Need Subsidized Housing," in City Journal *(Winter 1997), Manhattan Institute, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, New York 10017.*

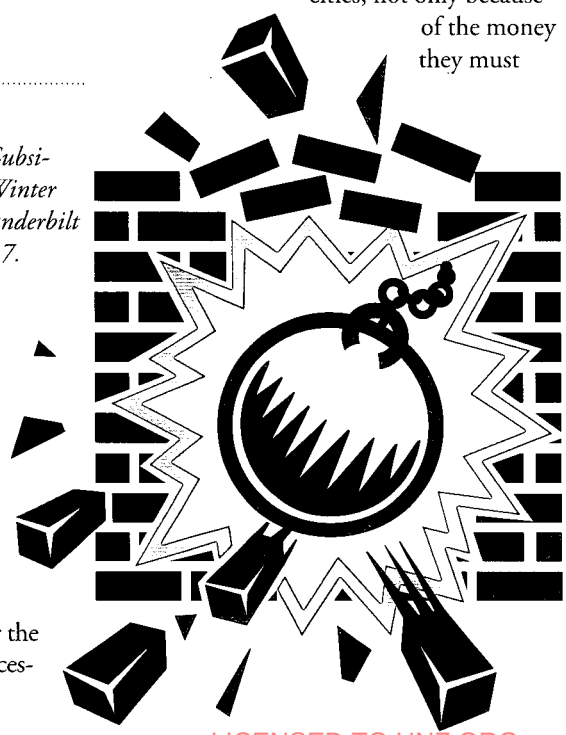
The Department of Housing and Urban Development is currently razing scores of "severely distressed" public housing projects. Husock of Harvard's Kennedy School argues that this demolition symbolizes Washington's 60-year failure to produce good housing for poor people. "Devoting government resources to subsidized housing for the poor," he writes, "is not only unnecessary but also counterproductive."

Yet public housing subsidies continue because of "remarkably tenacious myths":

• *The market won't build housing for the poor.* Before New Dealers began massive public housing programs, private developers created a great deal of housing for the poor. While some of these apartments were cramped and unbearable, and poor people often shared bathrooms with neighbors, many cities abounded with cheap housing. A 1909 federal survey found that the poor in Washington, D.C. paid, on average, 18 percent of their incomes for rent, and many lived in their own homes.

Too many regulations, Husock argues, discourage affordable housing from being built. Environmental Protection Agency rules make it uneconomical for developers to convert abandoned industrial sites in the inner-city to low-cost housing. Handicapped-access rules prevent the construction of new basement apartments. Other regulations, such as mandates that builders use cast-iron pipes instead of plastic ones, "push up the cost of housing needlessly."

• *Government can give the poor better housing than profit-seeking landlords.* But bureaucrats have no incentives to maintain apartment complexes, ensuring that these projects eventually have to be demolished or abandoned. Moreover, public housing is an expensive burden for cities, not only because of the money they must spend on housing, but because public housing projects and housing built by nonprofits are exempt from property and other taxes.



When regulations are relaxed, Husock argues, developers are eager to supply housing to the working poor. San Diego allowed the construction of 2,700 single-room-occupancy units, which were swiftly filled by day laborers and taxi drivers who didn't mind that the new units had small bathrooms and limited parking. After Baltimore eased its rules for renovation, City Homes restored buildings it rents to the working poor. These buildings, he reports, are "oases of stability in bad neighborhoods."

The Dispensable NEA

William Craig Rice, "I Hear America Singing," in Policy Review *(March/April 1997), Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.*

Supporters of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) argue that the arts will suffer if federal subsidies are eliminated. Rice of the Heritage Foundation disagrees.

Federal arts funding favors large and well-established organizations that can afford to hire the best grant proposal designers. But NEA subsidies are a tiny proportion of these wealthy organizations' budgets and can be replaced by slight rises in ticket prices. The Metropolitan Opera, for example, currently receives about $875,000 a year from the NEA, a sum that could be replaced by raising ticket prices (which already range up to $125) by $1.50 per ticket.

Also, as government funding has declined, scores of new nonprofits have emerged to support artists and writers. The Newington-Cropsey Foundation, for instance, assists traditional artists by providing exhibition space and by publishing the *American Arts Quarterly*, a journal dedicated to advancing classical art. More avant-garde artists are aided by foundations created from the estates of Andy Warhol and Robert Mapplethorpe.

Other private ventures could also fund the arts. Hollywood could do more to subsidize theaters that train actors and develop plays. Hollywood executives could help regional theaters improve

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their marketing. And studio moguls and wealthy stars could increase their contributions to such established theatrical charities as the Shubert Foundation and the National Corporate Theatre Fund.

The end of the NEA will be difficult for many artists used to grants. But they need to become more self-reliant and enterprising. "It is the stalwarts," Rice writes, "the pertinacious, entrepreneurial, independent spirits—and those with the vision to help them—who stand the best chance of advancing the cause of American art."

Why Government Can't End Homelessness

J. Philip Thompson, "The Failure of Liberal Homeless Policy in the Koch and Dinkins Administrations," in Political Science Quarterly *(Winter 1996-97), Academy of Political Science, 475 Riverside Drive #1274, New York, New York 10115.*

Homeless activists often assert that a lack of government housing subsidies is the sole cause of homelessness. And so in 1979 homeless advocate Robert Hayes, using an obscure clause in the New York State constitution which requires government to provide for "the aid, care, and support of the needy," convinced the state courts to rule that every resident of New York has a right to shelter. In 1981, New York City signed a decree that substantially expanded its shelter system.

Mayor Koch's administration tried to fight homelessness by creating spartan "congregate shelters," such as church gymnasiums. But the number of disturbed homeless people continued to rise, forcing the city to turn welfare offices into temporary shelters. Homeless lobbyists lobbied the courts and the press, winning a major victory in 1986 when the New York State Court of Appeals ruled that the city's shelter system be upgraded.

In 1989, the more liberal Dinkins administration tried to expand dramatically the number of public housing slots available to the homeless. But the 80,000 single mothers with children who *didn't* live on the streets and who had to wait up to 12 years for public housing were indignant. Working poor people in the projects protested against living near formerly homeless single mothers who failed to supervise or control their children. Thus Dinkins' policies towards the homeless resulted in "intensified deterioration of the city's existing low-income housing stock," writes Thompson of Barnard College.

Dinkins also tried to aid the homeless by giving people in shelters federally subsidized "Section 8" housing vouchers to help pay for rent. But with a city housing vacancy rate of less than 2 percent, this policy "provided an incentive for landlords to evict lower-rent paying, non-subsidized poor families."

By 1992, New York City spending on the homeless had soared to over $500 million, up from $10 million in the early '80s. Yet the number of single mothers and their children in shelters had tripled, with each mother and child costing the city an average of nearly $37,000. And still the programs failed to slow the flow of troubled people into shelters.

The failure of the Koch and Dinkins homeless policies, Thompson argues, shows the limits of liberal activism. "Homeless advocates," he concludes, "apparently believed that using the courts to mandate housing for the homeless would increase pressures on poor people to demand more housing for themselves, thereby broadening the homeless struggle to a unified struggle of the poor for housing. That strategy backfired. The poor did not unite."

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Money vs. Medicine

Marcia Angell, Science on Trial: The Clash of Medical Science and the Law in the Breast Implant Case. *W.W. Norton, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10110.*

In 1994, the manufacturers of silicon breast implants agreed to a settlement where they would pay over $4 billion to women with implants, with at least $1 billion going to trial lawyers. Though the details are still being negotiated, it's clear the endless lawsuits over breast implants have frequently ended up terrifying women and enriching attorneys. Angell of *The New England Journal of Medicine* suggests that the breast implant affair will conclude with "relatively small gains for many women and enormous gains for a few lawyers."

Silicone breast implants came on the market in 1962. (The first implantee, now a 64-year-old grandmother, was still wearing her set 33 years after her operation.) The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) did not regulate implants and other medical devices until 1976; so breast implant manufacturers did not have to prove the implants' safety to the government. There's a 5 percent chance an implant will rupture and small amounts of silicone leak into the body. Occasionally the tissues around the implant harden and become scarred. Medical researchers weren't able to determine what caused the scarring or how dangerous silicone leakage might be.

In the 1980s, Ralph Nader's organizations began to lobby against silicone breast implants. Trial lawyers began to win cases against implant manufacturers. Talk shows and news programs aired sensational stories about the alleged harms the implants caused.

In 1992, FDA commissioner David Kessler imposed a ban on silicone breast implants that remains in force. Kessler said that although no evidence suggested implants were unsafe, manufacturers had to prove their safety—the first time, says Angell, the FDA mandated "that a drug or device be risk-free."

Kessler's decision prompted a flood of litigation. For many plaintiffs, their attorneys, and expert witnesses, leaky breast implants paved the road to riches. Under the proposed settlement, a woman could receive up to $700,000 by claiming that her implants caused muscle aches, disturbed sleep, fatigue, and burning pain—symptoms that did not have to "be objectively verified by her doctor or anyone else." (The settlement also compensates husbands and children born before April 1994 for emotional trauma.) During the trials, expert witnesses made up to $600 an hour for pre-

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senting dubious theories connecting breast implants and disease.

In June 1994, the Mayo Clinic produced the first reliable study of breast implants, showing that women who didn't have implants were as likely to suffer connective tissue disease as women with implants. Trial lawyers denounced the study because it was indirectly paid for by the manufacturers, who were doing what the FDA requested. The lawyers also forced the Mayo Clinic to supply file cabinets full of material, including the medical records of every woman who lives in the Minnesota county where the clinic is based.

This last action sets a dangerous precedent, Angell warns, since medicine advances only when patients freely give confidential medical information knowing their records will remain private.

Breast implant litigation, Angell adds, could imperil "all medical devices—whether they carry silicone or not." Since anyone who makes any part of a medical device can be sued, trial lawyers usually attack big businesses who supply parts for allegedly faulty devices. When Vitek, a manufacturer of artificial jaws, went bankrupt, trial lawyers sued DuPont, who supplied Teflon used in the jaws. Though courts usually ruled in its favor, DuPont spent $8 million fighting jaw-related suits. As a result, DuPont announced in 1994 that it would no longer sell Dacron and Teflon to makers of medical devices. Dow Chemical has announced similar restrictions. "Under these conditions," Angell writes, "a large number of very important medical products may become scarce or even unavailable." For example, the shunts used to protect against hydrocephalus are made of silicone.

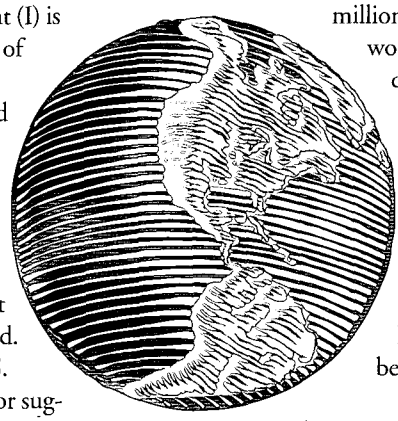
"To a remarkable extent," Angell concludes, "the breast implant story is about greed and its consequences."

We welcome submissions of reports, articles, or papers you think should be summarized in THE DIGEST. Please send to P.O. Box 8093, Silver Spring, Maryland 20907.

Technology Helps the Earth

Indur M. Goklany, "Factors Affecting Environmental Impacts: The Effect of Technology on Long-term Trends in Cropland, Air Pollution, and Water-related Diseases," in Ambio *(December 1996), Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Box 50005, S-104 05 Stockholm, Sweden.*

Ecologists such as Barry Commoner and Paul Ehrlich often use a simple formula to determine how technological change affects the environment: I=PAT. They argue that the environment (I) is affected by a combination of rising population (P), increased affluence (A) and technological change (T). The more population rises, they argue, and people become richer and technology more complex, the more likely it is the planet will be harmed.



Goklany from the U.S. Department of the Interior suggests that the formula environmentalists use is misleading. Wealth and technological advances don't harm the planet, he argues, they help it. Without new technology, and the money to pay for it, the environment would be in much worse shape.

Cropland. Though U.S. population nearly tripled between 1910 and 1993, the amount of land used to grow crops fell by 5 percent. Because of new technology, farmers are able to use less land to grow more food, and because the U.S. economy nearly quadrupled during this period, farmers can afford high-tech devices that save land and labor. With 1910-style technology, Goklany says, today's farmers would have needed quadruple the land, including all the land now used for national parks and wildlife refuges.

Air pollution. While federal laws such as the Clean Air Act of 1970 helped reduce air pollution, rising incomes have enabled consumers to replace coal-fueled furnaces and wood-burning stoves with cleaner natural gas heaters. And increasing population meant more customers for natural gas pipelines, ensuring lower costs for this more environmentally friendly fuel.

Water pollution. New technology has ensured dramatic falls in the rates of water-borne disease. In 1900, 1,400 of every million Americans died from gastrointestinal diseases caused by water-borne parasites. By 1970, the death rate for these diseases had fallen to six per million. Typhoid, which in 1900 killed 300 of every million Americans, was virtually eliminated by 1960. World Bank studies show similar drops in other countries with rising incomes.

Suppose that technology had not changed between the 1950s and today. Then, Goklany predicts, about a half-million Americans each year would die from water-borne diseases. There would be a billion hectares more farmland—ten times the amount of land in U.S. national parks. Smog attacks, such as the air pollution that killed 4,000 people in London in 1952, would be commonplace.

"Clearly, technological change and economic growth, together, have so far helped to avert full-scale environmental disaster." Goklany believes wealth and technological advance will "provide the means for solving present and future environmental problems, just as they did in the past."

Not Always Noble Savages

Terry L. Anderson, "Dances With Myths," in Reason *(February 1997), 3415 South Sepulveda Boulevard #400, Los Angeles, California 90034.*

Environmentalists often portray the American Indians before European settlement as noble souls who respected nature. But Anderson, executive director of PERC, an environmental think tank, argues that the truth is more complex. Most Indians were no friends of nature—and the tribes who did respect the environment also believed in private property.

Indians routinely burned the lands on which they lived before moving on. Some scholars argue that frequent fires set by Indians meant that there were fewer "old-growth" forests in the Pacific Northwest in 1700 than there are today. The Indians frequently wasted resources. When the

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Indians of the eighteenth century slaughtered buffalo on the Great Plains by forcing the beasts off a cliff, "tons of meat were left to rot or be eaten by scavengers."

But when land was scarce, Indians developed private property systems. The Mahicans in the Northeast and the Creek, Havasupai, and Hopi tribes in the Southwest all developed systems of private property. The Tlingit and Haida Indians of the Pacific Coast even appointed judges called *yitsati* ("master of the house") to settle property disputes. The owners made sure their property was protected and that resources were conserved. In the Pacific Northwest, for example, Indians developed rights to streams where salmon spawned, and routinely built wheels, weirs, and other devices to ensure that some salmon swam upstream to spawn again.

Anderson argues that tribes who develop private property better protect the environment than those who hold property in common. In many tribes, "ownership is only established by killing animals," a system that encourages slaughter. Indians using gillnets, for example, have nearly wiped out salmon in several streams in the Klamath River basin. Elk, deer, and moose on the Shoshone, Arapahoe, and Crow tribal lands are nearly wiped out.

The White Mountain Apaches, by contrast, show how some Indians manage resources responsibly. "The tribe is managing its trophy elk population and other wildlife on a sustainable basis—and making a profit" by selling opportunities to hunt, fish, camp, and photograph wildlife. These entrepreneurial efforts have conserved wildlife while generating jobs and millions of dollars of revenues for the tribe.

OTHER COUNTRIES

India Dumps Protectionism

Clive Crook, "India's Economy: Work in Progress," in The Economist, *(February 22, 1997), 25 St. James's Street, London SW1A 1NG, England.*

India's economy has been socialist for most of its history. According to Crook of *The Economist*, Indian industries long suffered from "an insanely repressive system of domestic planning and regulation." For example, planners imposed "capacity-licenses" which prohibited successful businesses from growing more quickly than planners liked. Imports were severely restricted, and foreign investment shunned. Tariffs averaged 87 percent, among the world's highest.

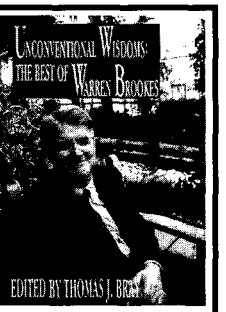
In 1960, the average South Korean earned four times what the average Indian made. By 1990, adjusted for inflation, the average South Korean annual wage was 20 times higher than that of India. Government planners excused India's anemic growth rate of under 4 percent by claiming that it was the "Hindu rate of growth" and that Indians were naturally unproductive.

By 1991, India's economy was near bankruptcy; so prime minister P. Narasimha Rao and his finance minister, Manmohan Singh, instituted market reforms. Currency controls were eased, the tariff rate fell to an average of 27 percent, and foreign investment increased. These reforms stimulated the economy, now growing by an average of 7 percent annually.

Much work remains if Indian firms are to compete in the world market. Indian socialists instituted draconian rules prohibiting businesses from closing and imposing strict rules on hiring and firing. For example, corporations often had to offer jobs in perpetuity; if the worker died, the firm had to hire his child or a relative. As a result, only 3 percent of Indians in the labor force work for a company with more than 10 employees, while an additional 6 percent work for the state. India needs more entrepeneurial firms if the economy is to continue to expand.

And the government still owns far too many businesses: cement, steel, drugs, refrigerators, soft drinks, batteries, banks, bread, and condoms. A quarter of India's GNP comes from these firms, but most are inefficient. Crook argues that economic liberalization will not come from New Delhi, but from state governments hoping to make their state more attractive for investors than rival states. If this competition happens, Crook foresees that "the Indian tiger may be scaring East Asia after all."

Unconventional Wisdoms: The Best of Warren Brookes
Edited by Thomas J. Bray



This book is a collection of Warren Brookes's work compiled and edited by his *Detroit News* editor, Thomas J. Bray.

From his indefatigable fact-gathering, Warren showed that much of what the experts had to say seemed badly out of step with reality. He made a virtual career out of debunking the conventional wisdoms. His nationally-syndicated column presented the unconventional wisdom not only about economics but a wide range of subjects, especially environmentalism. Many of the articles collected here have a timeless quality, and are a journalistic model to be emulated.

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Opinion Pulse

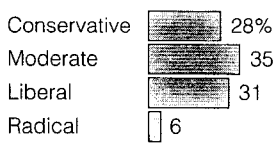
EDITED BY KARLYN BOWMAN

'60s KIDS: THE WAY THEY WERE

The Sixties generation was never as radical as it was portrayed. About as many young people called themselves conservatives as liberals in the 1960s and early 1970s. Six percent described themselves as radical. A majority of those under 30 voted for Nixon in 1972. Slightly over 60 percent say they never used marijuana, although the number of college freshmen supporting its legalization rose sharply during the 1970s. Only 2 percent say they were very active in the protests of the time. Most were opposed to the Vietnam War, but 57 percent in another question said we should have used more military force to win the war.

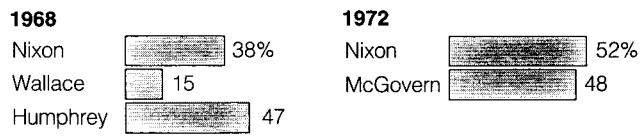
Politics

Question: **Looking back to the 1960s and early 1970s, would you describe your political views at the time as being...?**



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, April 15–17, 1986.

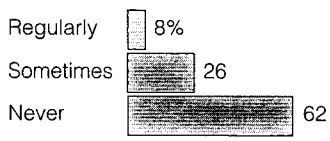
Vote of those under 30 years of age



Source: Pre-election surveys by the Gallup Organization.

Drugs

Question: **During the period we are talking about—the 1960s and early 1970s—did you use marijuana?**

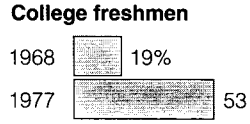


Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, April 15–17, 1986.

Question:...

Agree, marijuana should be legalized

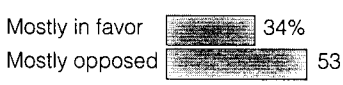
College freshmen



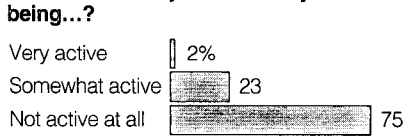
Source: Surveys by UCLA for the American Council on Education.

Protests and Vietnam

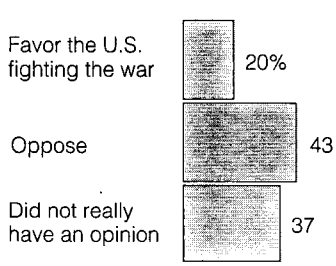
Question: **The 1960s and 1970s were a time of social protests and demonstrations. Were you—at that time—...?**



Question: **Would you describe yourself as being...?**



Question: **At the time the Vietnam War was being fought did you...?**



Question: **Do you agree or disagree with these statements about the Vietnam War?**

Was a noble cause

The U.S. should have used more military force to win the war

Note: All the Yankelovich Clancy Shulman data shown on this page are from surveys of 30–40 year olds.
Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, April 15–17, 1986.

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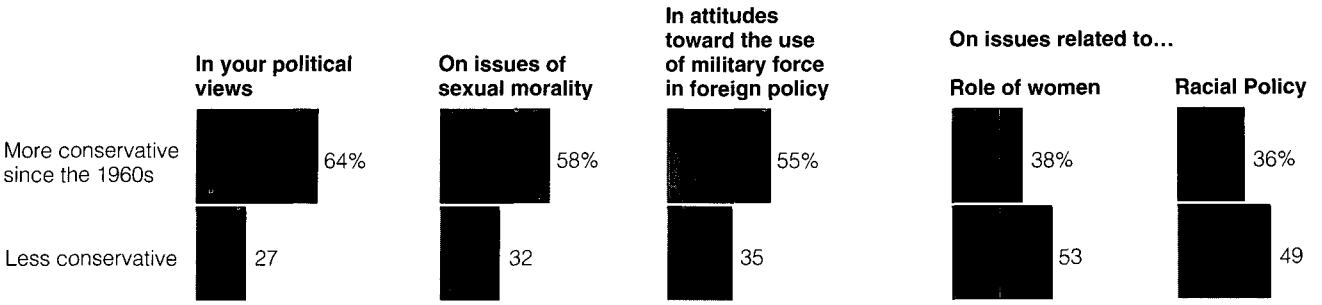
HOW BABY BOOMERS HAVE CHANGED

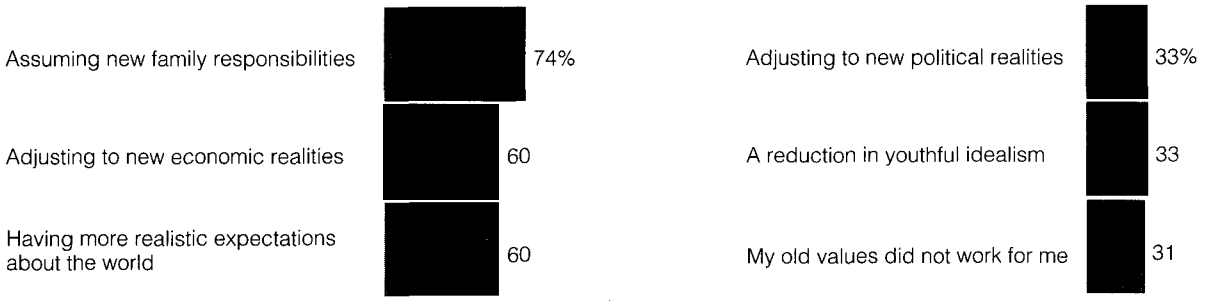
The old adage that marriages, mortgages, and children make us more conservative is borne out by the polls. By the mid-1980s, 30–40–year–olds were saying that they had become more conservative politically and on issues of sexual morality. On issues related to the role of women and racial policy, however, they said they had become less conservative. The main reason for changing beliefs seem to be family responsibilities. The number calling themselves Democrats hasn't budged, but the number identifying themselves with the GOP had risen.

Question: **In general do you feel you have become...?**



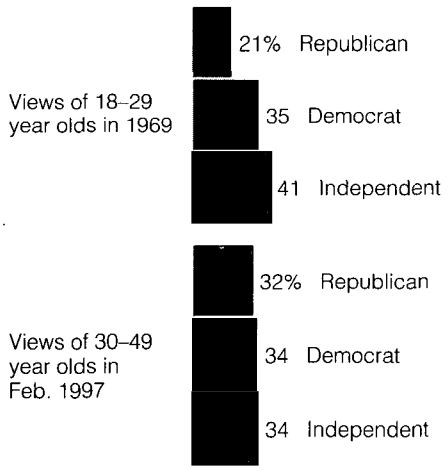
Question: **People change their beliefs and values for many reasons. Thinking of yourself, please tell me whether each of these reasons is a...**

Very important reason in how your beliefs and values may have changed since the 1960s and early 1970s



Note: Sample is of 30–40 year olds.
Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, April 15–17, 1986.

Question: **In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a...?**



Question: **Did you, yourself, happen to ...?**

Attend church or synagogue in the last seven days

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization.

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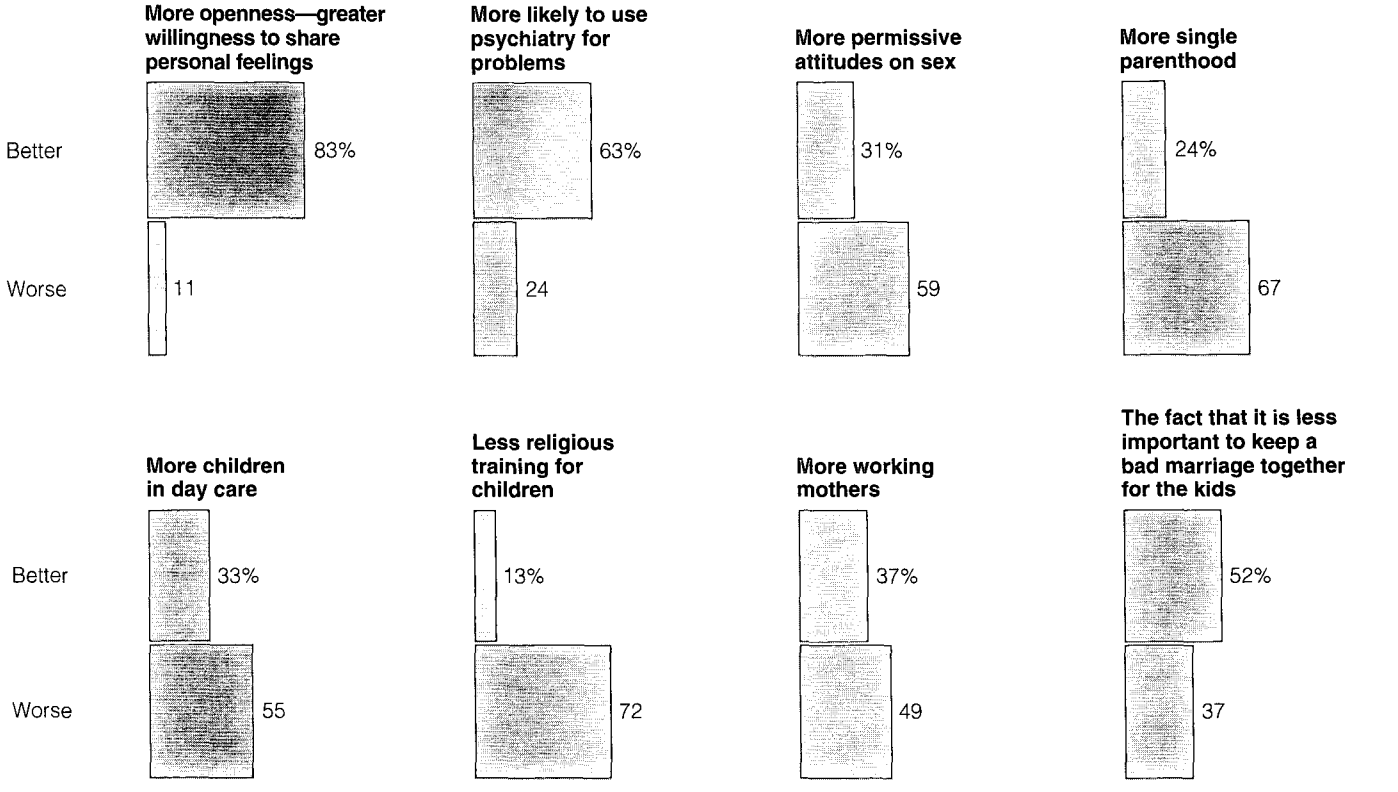
THEIR VERDICTS ON SOCIAL CHANGES

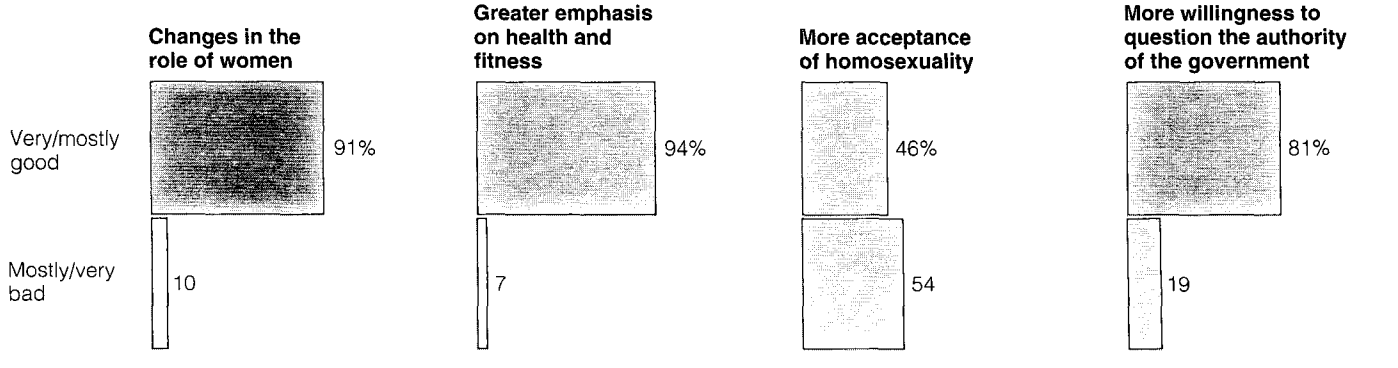
Members of the baby–boom generation are positive about some social changes since their parents' time, including changes in the role of women, greater emphasis on health and fitness, more willingness to use psychiatry for problems, and a greater willingness to talk about personal feelings. But more children in day care, less religious training for children, more mothers working outside the home, and more acceptance of homosexuality are not seen as positive changes.

Question: **Following is a list of changes some people say have occurred that are different from the practices of their parents' generation. Do you think each has been a change for the better or a change for the worse?**



Note: Sample is 18–44 year olds.
Source: Survey by Peter D. Hart Research Associates for *Rolling Stone*, September 11–20, 1987.

Question: **Now I'd like to ask you about some changes that have occurred in recent decades. Please tell me whether you feel each change was...for our society.**



Note: Sample is 35–49 year olds.
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Post-Modernity Project of the University of Virginia, January–April 1996.

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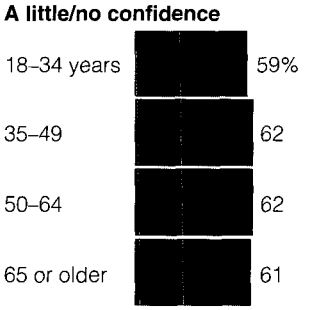
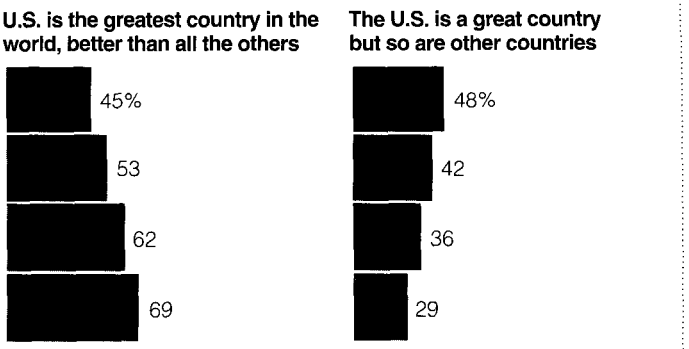
THE GENERATION GAP EVAPORATES

On many issues today, differences in attitudes by age group today are fairly modest. In all age groups, roughly six in ten say they have little or no confidence that when Washington tackles a problem the problem will actually be fixed. Our views on Pope John Paul, Ronald Reagan, and Oprah Winfrey are consensual. The charts on the bottom third of the page show that the youngest group in the population is generally more "liberal" on social issues.

Question: **When the government in Washington decides to solve a problem, how much confidence do you have that the problem will actually be solved?**

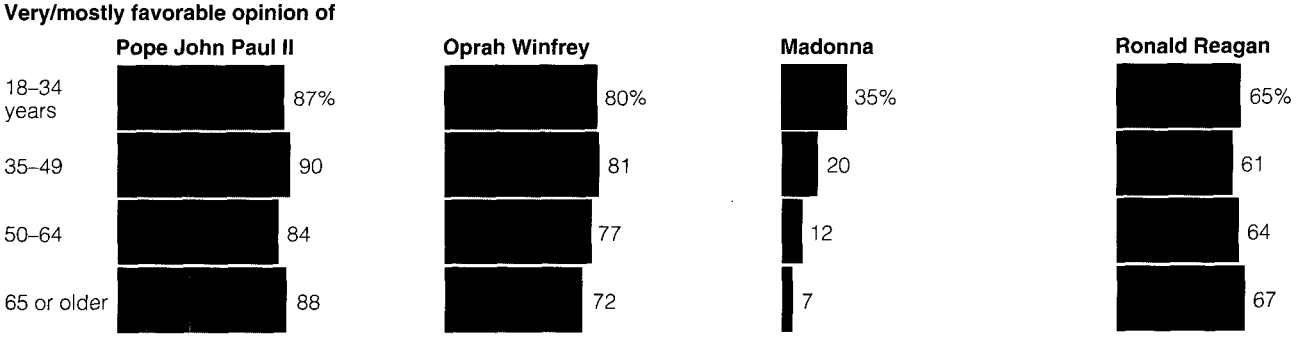


Question: **Which of the following comes closest to your view of the United States?**

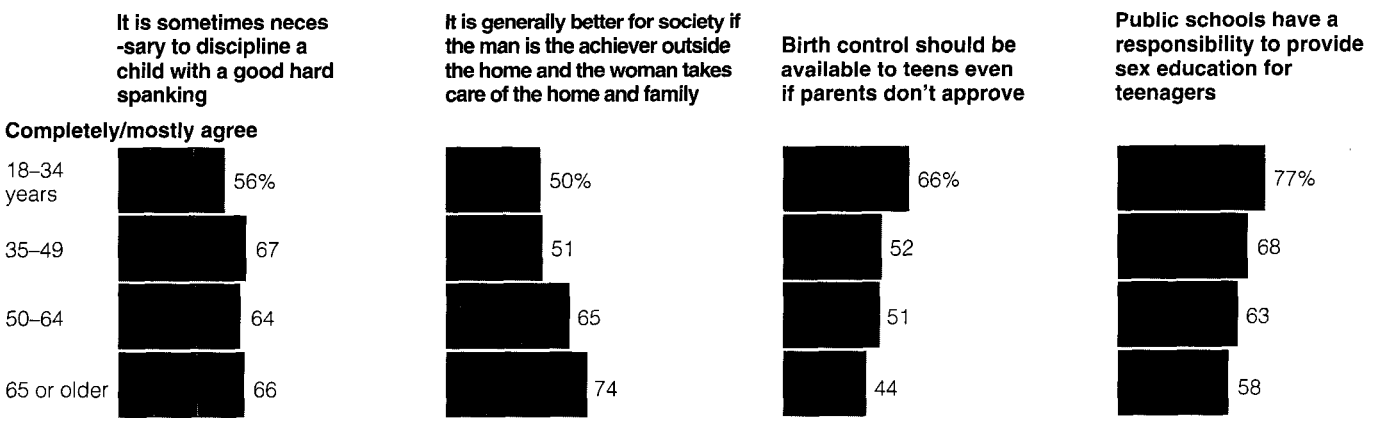


Note: Category not shown "there are some countries better than the United States"—6 percent, 5 percent, 2 percent, and 2 percent respectively.

Question: **I will read off the names of some people in the news. As I read each name, tell me if your opinion is...?**



Question: **I want you to consider a series of opinions on a variety of issues.**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Post-Modernity Project of the University of Virginia, January–April, 1996.

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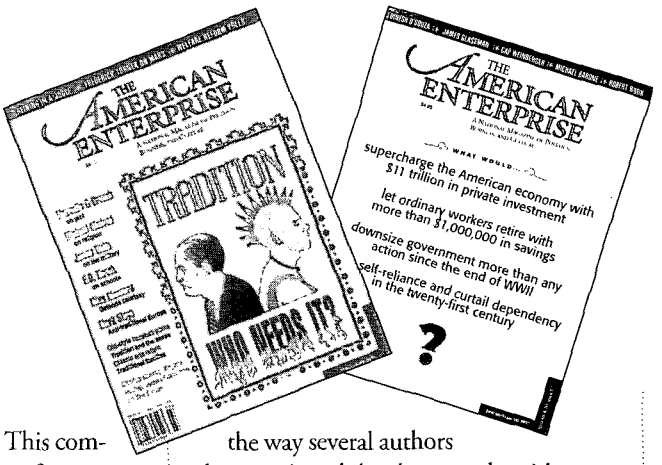
the Mail



What most impressed—and depressed—me about your Social Security issue (Jan./Feb.) was the articles' Beltway timidity. Not a single author suggested the principled solution: the abolition, hook, line, and sinker, of the massive Ponzi scheme that the U.S. government has been conducting under the trade name of "Social Security." Even Malcolm Wallop, who came closest, crawled off his "libertarian perch far enough to say that we have to make savings an obligation."

Why? What right does the government have to tell me what part of the income I have left after other taxes should be devoted to saving for retirement? People's needs and desires differ. Does it make sense to compel persons with AIDS to save for retirement? Of course, the abolition of the Ponzi scheme should be accompanied by meeting in full the obligations that the government has already assumed to the participants.

I proposed such a plan a quarter-century ago at the American Enterprise Institute. Here were my suggestions for closing down the Social Security system without doing injustice to persons now covered:

(1) Repeal the payroll tax. (2) Terminate any further accumulation of Social Security benefits. (3) Enact a negative income tax (one that counts Social Security benefits as income). (4) Continue to pay all existing beneficiaries the amounts they are entitled to under current law, with automatic cost of living rises. This will meet our commitments even taking inflation into account. Give all Social Security beneficiaries the option of receiving a lump sum equal to the present value of their contributions, instead of monthly payments.

(5) Give every worker who has earned Social Security retirement and survivors' benefits a commitment to whatever he is entitled to under present law. This commitment would be paid in one of two ways, at the option of the worker—either as the annual sum specified by current law or in government bonds of equal market value. (6) Give workers who have paid some Social Security taxes but not yet earned coverage for benefits a full repayment. (7) Finance payments under items 4, 5, and 6 using general tax funds and government bonds.

These steps simply recognize and fund Social Security obligations that now exist in an unfunded form. They do not add in any way to the true debt of the government but simply terminate the accumulation of any further Social Security obligations. These steps would enable the bulk of the present Social Security apparatus to be dismantled at once. It would be necessary to keep only a declining staff to administer item 4.

This proposal is more radical than anything your authors propose, yet to my mind far superior. As Gilbert and Sullivan put it, "In for a penny, in for a pound."

Milton Friedman
Hoover Institution

Congratulations on your magnificent issue on Social Security (Jan./Feb.)! I am so happy we are all joining forces to, in Karl Zinsmeister's words, "end the New Deal and its 1930s thinking" by reinventing Social Security. Carolyn Weaver's excellent piece confirmed that she—not Donna Shalala—is the real "Mrs. Social Security."

I understand that the partial privatization she recommends is a big step forward as far as the official Advisory Council goes, but I still think that a full privatization would be much better. She explains very well the benefits of the Chilean model, even compared to the U.K. alternative. I liked the way several authors also mentioned the abuses and entitlement culture fostered by the disability program. It should be privatized as in Chile, where it works extremely well.

José Piñera
[author of Chile's Social Security privatization]
International Center for Pension Reform

I was stunned by Carolyn Weaver's rejoinder to Jeff Tucker on the issue of Social Security "privatization," in which she favors history's largest tax increase (THE MAIL, March/April). Weaver says she's unaware of any "serious intellectual foundation" for abolishing the system and repudiating its liabilities. But an entire generation of economists supports such an approach, precisely because of the insoluble circumstances now surrounding the program. While repudiating all liabilities would certainly undermine faith in government, so will an average effective lifetime tax rate of 82 percent—the rate that today's four-year-olds would pay if the U.S. doesn't get its fiscal house in order. The $3-4 trillion in liabilities is not one among many problems; it is the *only* problem. Once we agree to pay the liabilities, we completely undercut any rationale for changing the program.

Dale J. Steinreich
via Compuserve

I agree with Kathleen Howley that the traditional Latin mass of the Roman Catholic Church is transcendent, noble, and fires the human imagination ("The Return of the Latin Mass," March/April). But a couple of points are in order. It is an overstatement to imply that the pre-Vatican II Latin mass is "the oldest continuous form of Christian worship." This was probably meant harmlessly to refer to "Western" history. But several still-living "Eastern" Or-

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thodox (e.g., Greek) and "Oriental" Orthodox (e.g., Coptic and Ethiopian) Christian liturgies can easily claim to be the oldest continuous form of Christian worship. Second, retreat into the Latin past is hardly the only option available to Roman Catholics aghast at desacralized liturgies. Many Orthodox Christian jurisdictions in America have adopted English liturgical translations and/or vernacular Scripture readings, and few Roman Catholics would accuse them of having surrendered their traditions.

Thomas J. Wiswell
Jacksonville, Florida

Kenneth Lee says we should sell more visas (ENTERPRISING, Mar./Apr.). Hasn't our immigration policy already been politicized enough? Immigration—legal and illegal—is turning our country upside down. Yet when we the people question the economic and cultural suicide carried out in our name, we are dismissed as bigots. It is high time immigration policy was decided by and for American citizens. Not by selling visas to the highest bidder. Not by pandering to corporate America's appetite for cheap labor. And not by ethnic groups importing relatives in a never-ending chain letter network. Would Japan or Singapore sell out their countries like that? Never!

Gary Ryman
New York, New York

TAE is the greatest magazine in the country. But although your March/April issue on tradition was excellent, nowhere—not even in your interview with James Webb on the military—did anyone call for the return of the military draft. I believe that the abolition of the draft is the greatest single mistake this country has made since the Great Society. The draft was one of the few things that united people of all social classes. For me, it did more to end racism than all the harangues, riots, and sit-ins in the world. By abolishing the draft, we only furthered the entitlement mentality of "all is free; no effort needed." I realize that many conservatives think a draft is evil, but I call it service to country—little enough for what we get.

Michael H. Agranoff
Stafford Springs, Connecticut

David Reiffen misses the mark in "The Battle over Correcting the Consumer Price Index" (ECONOMIST, March/April). If the CPI isn't based on something fixed, what does it actually measure? The concept of using an equivalent (rather than identical) bundle of goods to measure inflation is very squishy and open to political manipulation. The CPI should stick with a basket of goods that is relatively constant because it reflects the basic needs of ordinary Americans. Food, clothing, housing, transportation, and health care are sufficient. Products such as consumer electronics should be excluded precisely because they do change so quickly. The CPI is in danger of becoming another political football rather than an index that reflects the lifestyles of ordinary Americans.

Ralph Gillmann
Burke, Virginia

Karl Zinsmeister is absolutely correct in calling for an end to "automatic" entitlement spending (BIRD'S EYE, Jan./Feb.). Otherwise, when the baby boomers retire in 2030, the annual budget deficit will reach about a quarter of GDP, according to the latest Congressional Budget Office projections. That's more than 17 times larger than today's deficits.

It's too bad President Clinton missed yet another opportunity to address the urgent need for entitlement reform in his last budget proposal. Then again, President Clinton probably had big government in mind when he declared in his State of the Union address that "America demands and deserves big things from us, and nothing big ever came from being small."

Donald J. Sutherland
Washington, D.C.

Ignorance may, as the saying goes, be bliss. But characterizing it as superiority is sad indeed. Yet that's just what Kate O'Beirne does in exalting women's dearth of knowledge about national issues ("Real Political Reform," Jan./Feb.). Females are behaving more "rationally" than men, says O'Beirne, by ignoring trifles like the country's defense budget. Yet she says women, unlike men, do care about schools. Are schools not affected by national policies?

I strongly doubt O'Beirne's contention that women are more concerned than men about schools, neighborhoods, and communities. Men simply have broader concerns in addition to these.

About that tongue-in-cheek reform of hers, where only females would be allowed to vote at the state and local levels, with national voting reserved for men. She has a point: people who elect to be ignorant should not participate in elections.

Wayne Trybuk
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

John DiIulio says that "killers and other criminals are abetted by a justice system in our urban areas that invites known criminals to find fresh victims while out on probation, parole, or pretrial release" (TRANSCRIPT, Nov./Dec.).

Alas, he understates the case. Were abdication of responsibility and desertion of the people the justice system's only shortcoming, it still would not merit being called an accomplice to crime. But not only do urban governments allow criminals to run free, they also make the victims helpless by first disarming us.

These governments are essentially the thug who twists our arms behind our back while his friend pounds us in the face. Then our "statesmen" deliver the ransom note saying that we can expect more and worse treatment until we agree to pay up with more taxes for governmental programs.

It doesn't matter that such governments have been popularly elected. Suppose an antebellum plantation owner gave his slaves the chance to vote on the choice of either gaining self-reliant freedom or continuing the security of slavery, and 51 percent voted to keep the "free" housing, health care, food, and guaranteed employment of slavery. Despite such democracy, the unhappy 49 percent who voted in vain for freedom would be slaves no less than before. Freedom is measured not by the nature of governmental procedure but by the *inalienable* rights enjoyed by every citizen.

The rights that serve as the *sine qua non* of liberty include the right of self-defense, and its corollary, the right to keep *and bear* arms, without which all other rights are reduced to mere state-issued privileges, enjoyable only to the extent the government is able and willing to enforce them. As the article "Pack the Rod, Spoil the Criminal" in the same issue's SCAN section proves, victim disarmament is *not* for our own good.

Frank Silbermann
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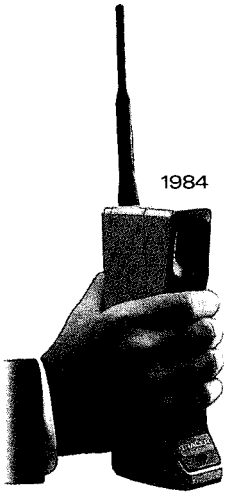

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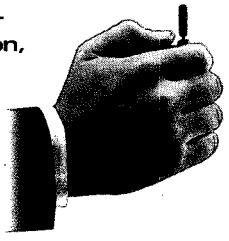
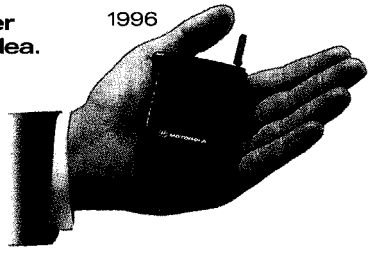


had another little idea.



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